

PLAYING
WITH
FIRE

*European
Terracotta Models,
1740–1840*



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James David Draper

Guilhem Scherf

with Magnus Olausson

and Elena Karpova, Bernhard Maaz, Roberta J. M. Olson, and Burkard von Roda

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Foreword

Terracotta models, like drawings and sketches, have long fascinated art lovers, for they attest to the artist's first spark of inspiration and, in retrospect, to the refinement that he brought to his finished work.

Some of the fragile and precious terracotta pieces in this unique and eloquent exhibition are well known, others not. The selection was made by curators James David Draper and Guilhem Scherf, who have been faithful collaborators on other major projects. They were joined by Magnus Olausson, whose reduced version of this exhibition for the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm, will concentrate on Johan Tobias Sergel and his contemporaries.

In the years from 1740 to 1840 Neoclassicism flourished in all of the arts. Terracotta sculpture, which embodied this revivalist spirit, was immensely popular and was collected throughout Europe. This is therefore a pan-European exhibition, presenting works not only by Clodion, Julien, and Houdon but also by Canova, Schadow, Dannecker, Sergel, Nollekens, Flaxman, and Godecharle, as well as by noteworthy Swiss and Russian sculptors.

I would like to express my gratitude here to the many institutions—European and American—and to the private collectors who loaned their irreplaceable terracottas to this exhibition. May the beauty of these works reawaken the “creative spirit” that presided over their making.

HENRI LOYRETTE
President and Director
Musée du Louvre

Foreword

Clay models reward us with direct, intimate glimpses into an artist's invention and vitality. Indeed it was our experience during the memorable 1998 exhibition *Augustin Pajou, Royal Sculptor* that the works to which many viewers gravitated and before which they lingered longest were the master's sketches and models. The curatorial team responsible for that cooperative venture between the Louvre and the Metropolitan Museum, Guilhem Scherf and James David Draper, have accordingly followed *Pajou* with an examination of terracottas across Europe during the age of Houdon and Pajou in France, Canova in Italy, Dannecker and Schadow in Germany, and Sergel in Sweden. Several others, such as the Swiss Sonnenschein, will doubtless emerge with heightened reputations, and the authors have not scrupled to include anonymous works whose outstanding quality demands recognition.

I join the organizers in thanking all the lenders who were willing to share their fragile terracottas with a greater public—a risk, certainly, but one mercifully lessened by advances in packing technology. We especially thank Magnus Olausson and his colleagues at the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm, where the exhibition in a reduced version will concentrate on Johan Tobias Sergel and his contemporaries, for allowing that great artist to be seen in unprecedented depth outside Sweden. The project's international tone is underscored by the contributions of scholars from Germany, Russia, and Switzerland as well as from France and the United States.

I take this opportunity to express most warmly the Metropolitan Museum's gratitude to the Gail and Parker Gilbert Fund for its generous support of this project. In addition, we are very much indebted to The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for its critical contribution to both the exhibition and this publication. The Museum would also like to acknowledge the kind assistance provided by Franklin Industries Inc.

PHILIPPE DE MONTEBELLO
Director
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

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Following a memorable exhibition held in Paris in 1934, which brought together French terracotta sculptures of the eighteenth century, Louis Réau wrote: “May this initiative be a prelude to an official exhibition that will call upon the unsuspected reserves of public collections.” The present exhibition fulfills this wish, but the circle of lenders extends well beyond French borders. As interest has become widespread, numerous museums and private collectors in Europe and the United States have acquired eminent masterpieces. The terracotta sketches, models, and autonomous works (that is to say, not preparatory ones) presented here—the visitor will find no portraits, a rich and complex category that demands to be treated separately—were executed during the century from 1740 to 1840, an era marked by what we call Neoclassicism. This period saw the spread across Europe of terracotta sculpture, preserved in artists’ ateliers, put up at auction, recommended to collectors, and eagerly commented upon. The aim of our exhibition is to illustrate the infatuation of artists and collectors with this material and to present telling comparisons of styles and personalities.

We express profound gratitude to all those who have helped realize the exhibition and its catalogue. First of all, for the confidence and unfailing support that they have granted us: Henri Loyrette, President and Director, Musée du Louvre, Pierre Rosenberg, President and Honorary Director, Musée du Louvre, Philippe de Montebello, Director and Chief Executive Officer, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Hans Henrik Brummer, Director, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, Olle Granath, Honorary Director, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, Jean-René Gaborit, Conservateur Général, Chargé du Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Ian Wardropper, Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Curator in Charge of the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, Metropolitan Museum, Olga Raggio, former head of the same department, and Torsten Gunnarsson, Director of Collections, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, as well as Sophie Aurand, Administrateur Général, Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Philippe Durey, former Administrateur Général, Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Bénédicte Boissonnas and Béatrice Foulon, heads of the Départements des Expositions et du Livre, Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Mahrukh Tarapor, Associate Director for Exhibitions, Metropolitan Museum, and Linda Sylling, Manager for Special Exhibitions and Gallery Installations, Metropolitan Museum.

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The installation in New York was designed by Michael Langley and Sue Koch of the Metropolitan Museum. In several instances it follows the excellent Parisian

format developed by Jérôme Habersetzer, with the assistance of Mahfoud Samir and Yannick Schutz.

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JAMES DAVID DRAPER and GUILHEM SCHERF

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Playing with Fire

“Terracotta is the concern of genius”: Connoisseurs and Collectors of Terracottas

GUILHEM SCHERF

“Terracotta is the concern of genius; marble is the conclusion of the work.”¹

Clay was the first material used for art, and so our discussion of the technical aspect of Greek art must begin with it. The figure of the sculptor Alkamenes on a bas-relief in the Villa Albani shows that they worked with a wooden modeling tool, like the moderns, but that they also used their fingers and even their fingernails to model the finer parts: when [the Greeks] wanted to express that finishing a work is the most difficult operation, they would say it is when clay gets under your nails.”²

Clay is thus the sculptor’s first material, the one with which he starts a work. But he also has to know how to finish it, down to his fingertips, so to speak, neither removing nor adding too much, holding the clay back or pushing it under the fingernails. This ductile material has to be tamed in order for the creative act to be accomplished. In French the verb *ébaucher*, to sketch or draft, means to pull the sculpture out of the *bauche*³ (out of the gangue or block), to give it a rough shape. An *esbauche* is “the rough form of a work of painting or sculpture.”⁴ It can be worked up into a sketch (*esquisse*),⁵ which is a “little *esbauche*, the penciling of some work that the painter is meditating.”⁶ The *ébauche* is the “work itself at its inception,” the sketch is the “first idea . . . for a composition.”⁷ The next stage is the model, in which details are further worked up, directly prior to the definitive sculpture: it is “exemplary, the governor of relief, be it a statue or some other work of sculpture or architecture, according to which one works to realize the proposed piece”⁸ (these ideas are discussed below in “Sculptors and Their Methods”).

“The man of genius and the true connoisseur get the most pleasure out of sketches. There are various reasons why: first of all, because they partake to a greater degree in the divine thrill of the initial concept than finished works which cost a lot of time; second, and most important, because they animate the poetic and reproductive faculties of the soul, which finish and complete in an instant what has only been sketchily rendered; in this respect they are very similar to the arts of oratory and poetry. . . .”⁹

The taste for sketches among art-lovers and collectors was a novelty in the

1. Diderot, letter to Falconet, September 6, 1768 (Diderot, *Correspondance*, vol. 5 [Paris, 1997], p. 865).
2. Watelet and Lévêque 1792, pp. 549–50.
3. *Ébauche*: “*Es* . . . prefix, and *bauche*, a kind of building mortar: to take out of the *bauche*, prepare, trim down. Also the Italian *sbozzo*, sketch, which comes from *bozza* or *bozzo*, a stone block” (Littré 1962, vol. 3, p. 351).
4. *Dictionnaire de l’Académie Française* 1718 (1994 ed.), p. 566.
5. In Italian *schizzo*, made on the spot or improvised, comes from the Latin *schedius*, *schediare*, derived from the Greek *skhedios* (Littré 1962, vol. 3, p. 1049; Picoche 1992, p. 187).
6. *Dictionnaire de l’Académie Française* 1718 (1994 ed.), p. 594.
7. Réau 1936, p. 12.
8. *Dictionnaire de l’Académie Française* 1718 (1994 ed.), vol. 2, p. 81. The word comes from the Latin *modulus*, measure. The term *maquette*, model, does not occur in the dictionary of the Academy. Louis Réau (1936, pp. 12–13) uses it arbitrarily in the sense of “sculpted model.” The authors of the present catalogue decided not to use the term *maquette*, which is perhaps more relevant to architecture.
9. Hemsterhuis 1765 (1991 ed.), p. 38.

eighteenth century. In his *Cours de peinture par principes* (1708), Roger de Piles inaugurated the use of the terms “fire,” “heat,” and “ardor” to describe compositions in painting. “These terms, seldom used at the beginning of the century, became a commonplace in the 1740s. . . . The sketch is the soul of a painting, skillful execution is its body.”¹⁰ Diderot, a fervent admirer of painted sketches, also took a great interest in sculpted ones: “The artist throws his fire into the clay, but boredom and coldness take over when he gets to the stone. This boredom and this coldness affect his chisel and penetrate the marble unless the sculptor possesses an inexhaustible passion.”¹¹

Winckelmann said as much: “[M]odelling in clay is to the sculptor what drawing on paper is to the painter. . . . [In] the soft material, and on paper, the genius of the artist is seen in its utmost purity and truth; whilst, on the contrary, it is concealed beneath the industry and the polish required in a finished painting and a completed statue.”¹² At the same time stylistic ardor had to be kept from degenerating into a system: “One must warn young artists about an error that I deem considerable: that of surrendering to a false ardor that partakes more of memory than of genius, and to mistake the former for the latter; a misfortune that often arises from our fateful facility, and whose misdeeds we attempt to excuse by saying: it was done with the tip of the tool.”¹³

The interest in terracotta sculpture in France began to spread in the late 1730s. It was consistently represented at the Salon of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, which became a regular event in 1737. Already at that time one could see sketches,¹⁴ models,¹⁵ and, less frequently, full-fledged works in terracotta.¹⁶ These small sculptures were often exhibited and naturally attracted the attention of the art public. Their presence was to increase in the next years and the first collectors of terracottas of the modern French School were members of the Académie with the status of “*honoraire amateur*” such as Jean de Jullienne, who was nominated in 1739, at the same time as the comte de Caylus (appointed in 1731). Other amateurs after 1747 were members with the

10. C. Michel 2003–4, p. 41.

11. Diderot, *Salon de 1765* (Diderot 1984a, p. 301).

12. Winckelmann 1764; Winckelmann, *The History of Ancient Art*, trans. G. Henry Lodge (Boston, 1880), vol. 1, p. 144.

13. Caylus, lecture read on June 3, 1747 (Caylus 1910, p. 133). “All fine works of sculpture are done and finished with the tip of the chisel” (note in a lecture read by Caylus on February 3, 1759; Caylus 1910, p. 191). The theme of the lightness of the chisel was the subject of a lecture read on October 4, 1755 (Caylus 1910, pp. 149–59).

14. Two sketches by Vinache at the Salon of 1738 (nos. 172, 173).

15. “Models” by Bouchardon (including cat. nos. 50, 51), Lemoyne, and Ladatte at the Salons of 1737, 1738, and 1739.

16. “Two small *groupes de fantaisie*” by Robert Le Lorrain at the Salon of 1737.



Fig. 1
Robert Le Lorrain,
River-god, terracotta, 1737.
Paris, Musée du Louvre

status of “*associés libres*”: Pierre-Jean Mariette in 1750, Ange-Laurent La Live de Jully in 1753, Jacques-Onésyme Bergeret¹⁷ in 1754. They were in a good position to gather up works by the artists that they frequented at the Louvre: Robert Le Lorrain’s *River-god* (Salon of 1737) was acquired by La Live de Jully (fig. 1),¹⁸ and Bouchardon’s models for Grosbois at the same Salon (cat. nos. 50, 51) by Jullienne, while Bouchardon’s *Cupid* (Salon of 1739) found its way into Mariette’s collection. Collectors often acquired the terracottas for *morceaux d’agrément* or *de réception* to the Academy (these terms are discussed below in “The Sculptor’s Training”): La Live de Jully had the best ensemble of these,¹⁹ but Jullienne acquired the original terracotta of Pigalle’s *Mercury*.²⁰

La Font de Saint-Yenne was aware that a change of taste could be effected through the filter of such connoisseurs²¹ and their cabinets, and the comte de Caylus encouraged the collectors: “The number of good models . . . would train the eye of the wealthy among us who have no idea of the beauty and elegance of sculpture and would gradually accustom them to terracottas. . . . Who knows whether someday the better models will not replace all their Chinese bric-a-brac; they are always pleasant, they represent gods and heroes, they recall fables or memorable deeds. The upper classes would at least come to know the names of sculptors as well as they know those of painters, and this art would become more widespread in society as a result. This might be a way to create a demand for larger pieces of sculpture and thus to divert the excessive sums being disbursed for the decoration of houses in a mean and ugly taste.”²² However, Mariette’s plea of 1750 shows that the taste of the amateurs had not yet become fully receptive: “There is no need to insist on the excellence of terracotta models. Not everyone is able to see or appreciate their hidden beauty in the same way. But this does not prevent the fact that, for those who deserve to be called true connoisseurs, these pieces may have more appeal than even the most finished of sculptures. It is much like a discerning and enlightened eye discovering the whole spirit of the master in a single drawing, that creative spirit, that flashing divine fire that emanates from the soul and that can so easily be extinguished and annihilated by an instant of reflection.”²³ La Live de Jully benefited from Mariette’s advice when he compiled the catalogue of his collection in 1764. Its preface was a plea for the contemporary French School and for terracotta in particular: “I have collected a terracotta model of each sculpture, and these models are often superior to marbles, for they convey even better the fire and true talent of the artist.”²⁴

The taste for terracotta shared by La Live de Jully, Jullienne, and Mariette²⁵ at mid-century was not exclusive to France. Since at least the mid-seventeenth century in Italy, terracottas by Bernini and Algardi were highly appreciated in their day by noted personalities.²⁶ Abbate Filippo Farsetti began acquiring terracottas in Rome in the middle of the eighteenth century (from 1749 to 1753)²⁷ and brought them to the attention of Natoire, director of the Académie de

17. See Dussieux 1851–52 and Olivier 1976.

18. Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 2, p. 460, ill.

19. Mentioned in the catalogue of his cabinet published in 1764 were the qualification piece by Slodtz, and preparatory terracottas for the *morceaux de réception* of Bousseau, Challe, Saly, Ladatte, and Falconet. See La Live de Jully 1764.

20. Posthumous sale of the Jullienne collection, March 30, 1767, no. 1300.

21. La Font de Saint-Yenne 1746 (2001 ed.), p. 54.

22. Comte de Caylus, *Vie de Jacques Sarazin*, March 1, 1749, manuscript (forthcoming publication; my thanks to Christian Michel for bringing this document to my attention).

23. Pierre-Jean Mariette, *Description sommaire . . . du cabinet de feu M. Crozat* (Paris, 1750), pp. 5–6 (Foreword).

24. La Live de Jully 1764, p. vii. The words *esquisse* (sketch)—Legros: “These sketches were done with the utmost ardor and spirit”—and *modèle* (model)—for Guillaume Coustou’s *Horses of Marly* and Saly’s *morceau de réception*—were used. Coustou’s *Julius Caesar*, a model for a large marble (Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 1, p. 170, ill.), was described as a “very advanced terracotta.”

25. See also Scherf 2001a.

26. Walker 1998, pp. 19–22.

27. Androsov 1998, p. 4.



Fig. 2
Guillaume II Coustou, *Pan Teaching Apollo to Play the Flute*, terracotta, 1745. Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André

France in Rome.²⁸ In England in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, George Vertue waxed enthusiastic over the fresh quality of terracotta sketches.²⁹ In addition to this, some artists made a point of collecting and preserving the works of their fellow-artists. This was the case in Italy (to mention only the sculptors Ferrata, Fontana, and Cavaceppi; see cat. no. 41), as well as in France (the architects Brongniart and Pâris; see cat. nos. 139, 140). But a distinction should be made between studio properties exchanged by artists and the collections of connoisseurs in the proper sense.³⁰

This taste for terracotta in the mid-eighteenth century should not be too generalized. Many *honoraire amateurs* and *associés libres* did not share it, and it is instructive to see that even those who collected terracottas did not give them a prominent place in their portraits.³¹ The fashion for bronze statuettes still dominated:³² there were a great many bronzes in the cabinets of Jullienne and Blondel de Gagny (and later of his son, Blondel d'Azincourt). In his portrait painted by Greuze and exhibited at the Salon of 1765 (Musée du Louvre), Claude-Henri Watelet is shown contemplating—and studying—a bronze.³³ Blondel d'Azincourt's 1749 text on how to organize a collector's cabinet³⁴ mentions only bronzes, and the text by La Font de Saint-Yenne cited above (published two years before) lists only the bronzes and marbles of the Jullienne and Blondel de Gagny collections.³⁵ It was twenty years later that Josiah Wedgwood was able to propose terracottas to an English gentleman as replacements for the bronzes of Zoffoli.³⁶

It would be fascinating to know where and how terracotta sculptures were displayed in interiors. The systematic study of post-mortem inventories can be informative in this respect, but should not be overestimated. We will cite two examples. In the aforementioned catalogue of 1764, La Live de Jully leads the reader through the rooms of his mansion adorned by works of art.³⁷ There were terracottas in practically every room. Significantly, the most important pieces were displayed not in the rooms giving onto the courtyard, but in those facing the garden (an obvious choice): the models for *morceaux de réception*, Bouchardon's much-admired terracottas for the choir of Saint-Sulpice, Le Lorrain's *River-god*, and Guillaume II Coustou's *Pan Teaching Apollo*—a “very tastefully designed group . . . composed with the wisdom and simplicity of antiquity” that had been shown at the Salon of 1745 (fig. 2)—as well as works by Berruer, of whom he says: “This young sculptor is presently in Rome and inspires the highest hopes.”³⁸ According to Bergeret's 1785 posthumous inventory,³⁹ sculptures were well represented in his residence: there were some in his bedchamber, the cabinet “next to the book salon,”⁴⁰ the boudoir,⁴¹ the gallery, and the studio.⁴²

The study of representations in contemporary paintings, which also remains to be undertaken systematically, can be frustrating. The main problem is that of positively identifying a terracotta as a collectible or decorative object, as opposed,

28. Letter from Natoire to Marigny, January 17, 1753: “[The abbé Farsetti], a noble Venetian, wealthy man, with great taste for the arts and whom you saw in Rome, is assembling a fine collection of sculpture models (it is the part to which he pays the most attention)” (*Académie de France à Rome 1887–1908*, vol. 10 [1900], p. 434). A large portion of the collection was acquired by Czar Paul I and is preserved today in the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg.

29. Baker 2000, p. 27.

30. The painter François Boucher was an exception; his famous cabinet was very large and varied. The catalogue of the posthumous sale (February 18–March 9, 1771) has two pages of terracottas, including ones by Clodion and Vassé.

31. Jullienne holds a drawing in his portrait painted by François de Troy (Musée de Valenciennes); La Live de Jully was portrayed by Greuze next to the *Erythrean Sybil*, a marble by Caffieri (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art); in Vincent's portrait (Musée de Besançon), Bergeret is surrounded by reductions of antique works.

32. De Troy's depiction of an elegant salon (*The Detached Garter*, private coll.; Leribault 2002, p. 271, ill.) shows a bronze bather made after a model by Giambologna on a console table.

33. Musée du Louvre 1983, pp. 50–52, ill. Watelet became an *associé libre* in 1747.

34. Barthélemy Augustin Blondel d'Azincourt, *La première idée de la curiosité, où l'on*



Fig. 3
Louis-Léopold Boilly, *Take This Biscuit*, oil on canvas, about 1790. Private collection



Fig. 4
Detail of fig. 3, *Hymen and Sleeping Eros*, terracotta group, unlocated



Fig. 5
Jean-Pierre Saint-Ours, *The Syndic Masbou*, oil on canvas, 1795. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire



Fig. 6
Detail of fig. 5, *Mnemosyne*, terracotta statuette, unlocated

for example, to a model in a studio. Then there is often a risk of confusing it with another material; this is the case with the gouaches and watercolors of Moreau, Lavreince, and Mallet. Small decorative sculptures briskly represented on pieces of furniture could just as well be in porcelain or marble. Boilly's delightful picture *Take This Biscuit* (fig. 3) shows a large terracotta group that plays a key role in the author's ironically moralizing message (fig. 4).⁴³ Similarly, a small statuette clearly made of terracotta looms pensively over the portrait of a Geneva syndic from the revolutionary period depicted in his office (figs. 5, 6). We do not know if this figure actually belonged to the sitter, but an inscription on the base identifies it as Mnemosyne, the personification of memory; it is shown with very fine modeling and a pose in the antique style to serve both as a decorative object and an intellectual appurtenance. In both cases, terracotta sculptures were an integral part of the intimate environments of the persons portrayed.

The second half of the eighteenth century saw the taste for this material spread in France, beyond the circle of the Academy and into the interiors of European aristocrats⁴⁴ and financiers.⁴⁵ The works favored by the latter no longer reflected the concerns of the academic institution. Their preference went to pleasant subjects in the style of Delarue, Clodion, and Berruer, which might be displayed alongside more austere subjects from antiquity in bronze or marble reductions, suggesting that the more lively modeling of the terracotta was tantamount to frivolity.⁴⁶ A work such as Pajou's *Attention and Sorrow* (fig. 7), presented at the Salon of 1789, was particularly remarkable in this respect, since it was the terracotta version of a well-known antique group (fig. 8; there was a

trouve l'arrangement, la composition d'un cabinet, les noms des meilleurs peintres flamands et leur genre de travail, MS, published in Bailey 1987, pp. 446–47. Blondel d'Azincourt became an *associé libre* in 1767.

35. It is worth noting that there were no bronzes in La Live de Jully's cabinet.
36. Letter from Wedgwood to Bentley dated September 1769 concerning Lord Bessborough's collection: "[The terracotta figures] would have the appearance of Models, and make an agreeable variety with the black [basalte wares], both figures and Vases" (quoted in Cocks 1989, p. 208).
37. In 1757 Dezallier d'Argenville mentioned in La Live de Jully's possession: "On a bookcase, a remarkable piece by Boule, there are rows of terracotta models by various sculptors." This bookcase stood in the "salon facing the garden" in 1764.
38. The 1764 catalogue concludes on a climactic note with a description of small marbles by Tassaert, Legros, Caffieri, Vassé, Falconet, Pajou, and Pigalle in the "salon facing the garden." The only terracotta in the room—apart from a bust by Coysevox—was Bouchardon's model for the *Mourning Woman* on the duchesse de Lauraguais's tomb (see cat. no. 117).
39. Wildenstein 1961. To be read with the collector's posthumous sale, Paris, April 24, 1786, and our cat. no. 43.
40. Clodion, *Monument to a Dog*, Paris, Musée Cognacq-Jay (Paris 1992a, no. 60, ill.).
41. Clodion, *Mausoleum of Ninette*, private coll. (Paris 1992a, p. 296).

42. "A terracotta Christ in his Tomb from Naples" (Wildenstein 1961, p. 79), relating to cat. no. 134.
43. The group represents Hymen and Eros asleep (Siegfried 1995, p. 166, fig. 139).
44. We should at least mention the prince de Conti, whose vast collection included remarkable terracottas by Pajou, Delarue, and Clodion (sale, April 8, 1777, and March 15, 1779), and Count Alexander Sergeievich Stroganov (1733–1811) who brought many fine pieces, particularly French, back to Russia. Some are at the State Hermitage Museum, while others were sold between the two World Wars and found their way into other museums (including the Carnegie Art Museum, Pittsburgh). See Réau 1931, pp. 64–65.
45. Significantly, the terracottas in the cabinet of the banker Haranc de Presle, a collector of Bouchardon and Clodion in particular (but also of porcelain, especially after Falconet), were explicitly mentioned by Thiéry in 1787 (vol. 1, p. 443; see also sale, April 30, 1795).
46. The collections of Vassal de Saint-Hubert (sale, January 17, 1774), Randon de Boisset (sale, February 27, 1777), and Leroy de Senneville (sale, April 5, 1780). There was also the collection of the Bailli de Breteuil, which included light subjects in terracotta next to more austere marbles in the antique style (sale, January 16, 1786).
47. Kalveram 1995, p. 248, no. 158.
48. The base bears the inscription: "Reminiscence d'un groupe antique / L'attention et la douleur / par Pajou 1789." It was rediscovered at the beginning of the twentieth century by a descendant of the Vandeul family (see Paris and New York 1997–98, pp. 167–69, fig. 105).
49. Villars 1862, and sale, Paris, February 9, 1875.
50. Goncourt, *Journal*, October 30, 1856; Goncourt 1881.
51. Goncourt 1881, pp. 166–67. Edmond regretted having failed to acquire Clodion's *Balloon Monument* (fig. 10), which he described with great relish. A photograph of their salon shows vases by Clodion (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts) flanking a female statuette on the mantelpiece (Paris 1992a, p. 93, fig. 55).
52. Sale, Paris, December 2, 1911.
53. Sale, Paris, June 6, 1912.
54. Sale, Paris, June 9–11, 1914.
55. Sale, Paris, May 15, 1929.
56. Paris 1934, Paris 1973a.
57. Barberini in Rome 1991, pp. 14–18.
58. *Van Herck Collection* 2000.
59. Washington, New York, and Cambridge 1979–82.
60. *Donation Jacques Petithory* 1997.
61. Sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, December 9, 2002.
62. *Notes sur le XXXV Livre de Plinie*, in Falconet 1808, vol. 1, p. 407.



Fig. 7
Pajou, *Attention and Sorrow*, terracotta, 1789.
Private collection



Fig. 8
Satyr Extracting a Thorn from the Foot of a Faun,
antique marble. Paris, Musée du Louvre

copy in the Borghese collection⁴⁷) and may have been made for Diderot's daughter, a friend of the sculptor's.⁴⁸

After a lapse in the first half of the nineteenth century, terracottas again became fashionable during the Second Empire. Notable art-lovers such as Baron Thibon⁴⁹ and the Goncourt brothers⁵⁰ garnered large collections of terracottas that favored lighter subjects à-la-Clodion which they passionately defended: "The gouaches and terracottas of the eighteenth century—I once had the idea of collecting only these—are so pleasant to the eye, so stimulating to the art-lover's daydreams, so titillating for those of delicate taste! Is it not a hint of painting, the modeling of dreams, an almost immaterial beauty?"⁵¹

Many amateurs continued collecting terracottas at the end of the nineteenth and throughout the twentieth centuries: the Portuguese count Penha Longa,⁵² Jacques Doucet,⁵³ Guillaume de Gontaut-Biron, marquis of Biron,⁵⁴ Marius Paulme,⁵⁵ Paul Cailleux,⁵⁶ the tenor Evangelista Gorga (who hoped to establish a museum in Rome),⁵⁷ Charles Van Herck in Antwerp,⁵⁸ Arthur M. Sackler in the United States,⁵⁹ Jacques Petithory,⁶⁰ Edmond Courty,⁶¹ and the many other collectors, art dealers, and experts whom the reader will encounter in the pages of this catalogue. As Falconet remarked, "It is the wonderful terracottas of the great masters, much more than their waxes, that we precious preserve."⁶²

Neoclassical Modeling in Its International Context

JAMES DAVID DRAPER

T*erracotta* is the universally used Italian term for fired clay. The appearance of the word throughout Europe tacitly acknowledges Italian primacy in this field.¹ To the north, far into the eighteenth century, sculptors preferred wood or sometimes wax for models. Well into the nineteenth century, Italian artists such as Antonio Canova also occasionally employed wax, but the more durable terracotta is the medium by which he and most of his contemporaries are usually judged as modelers. The history of its use across several generations of Neoclassical sculptors, who raised ceramic sculpture to a new perfection, is not easily addressed in a few words. Complicating the story are the variety of works produced and the low rate of their survival. There will in fact never be a complete picture. The atelier of a humble fashioner of decorative friezes and the like, for instance, would have been full of clay models, but these were far less likely to remain intact than those in the atelier of a major figural sculptor. Models of unfired clay (*terracruda* to the Italians) survive in far fewer numbers than terracottas, and it should be understood that later Neoclassicists, especially those with large practices and streamlined workshops, tended not to keep their clay sketches. Several of the first rank—Wiedewelt, Chaudet, Cartellier, Tenerani, Bosio, Thorvaldsen, Thieck, Zauner, Chantrey, and Bartolini—left very few if any terracottas. They began by making drawings and fashioning clay models more or less simultaneously, but the latter, presumably unfired, were disfigured and discarded after molds were made to replicate them in plaster. The plasters gave the information necessary to realize the designs in marble, but their matte surfaces are far less seductive than the terracottas' engaging vitality. The first to substitute plaster models for clay ones is often, probably inaccurately, said to be Canova. It is true that his largest clay models were replaced with plasters, but luckily he saw to the preservation of a good number of his small, lively first thoughts in terracotta and even in unbaked clay.

The physical act of modeling with clay by Neoclassical sculptors is seldom

1. The French *terre cuite* must derive from the Italian, Italy having seen the use of baked clay for sculpture earlier than elsewhere. Most northern lands use the Italian term (whether as one word, *terracotta*, or two, *terra cotta*) when characterizing the medium.

mentioned in the early literature except for two very different cases, the modestly gifted Nollekens and the great Canova. Both accounts are posthumous.

Joseph T. Smith's biography of Joseph Nollekens presents a maddeningly folkloric portrait of an eccentric tightwad, with little insight into his creative impulses, but it comes alive with a brief description of Nolly's modeling habits: "The greatest pleasure our Sculptor ever received, was when modelling small figures in clay, either singly or in groups, which he had baked; and in consequence of his refusing to sell them, and giving very few away, they became so extremely numerous, that they not only afforded a great display of his industry, but considerable entertainment to his friends."²

The young Nollekens had won a Society of Arts prize for a clay model, *Jephtha's Rash Vow*, which took him to Rome where, between 1760 and 1770, he perfected his technique. It is highly probable that he viewed modeling as a Roman pastime; the catalogue of his estate sale (Christie's, July 8, 1823) defines his clay sketches with the Italian word "pensieri," or thoughts, with a connotation of loftiness. For us, Nollekens's little reverie on the ancient *Laocoon* is too close to the antique to be termed an invention, but one cannot deny a certain liberation from the original's mighty shapes (fig. 9).

It has recently been said of Canova's terracottas that "they were always highly esteemed, even during epochs when his marble sculptures were considered cold and inexpressive."³ This is rather misleading. Canova's terracottas were conceivably treasured by their owners or viewed fleetingly among the core group of his plaster models in the Gipsoteca Canoviana at Possagno, but they were undiscussed and unillustrated before Elena Bassi's 1943 monograph, which contains a handful. The key events in their modern reappraisal were the inclusion of a healthy number in an exhibition in Rome in 1951–52,⁴ and Emilio Lavagnino's subsequent 1954 booklet devoted to several handsomely photographed examples.

When Canova arrived in Rome from the Veneto in 1779, he was already an accomplished modeler, in part because of his frequentation of the Farsetti collection of terracotta models,⁵ Baroque bozzetti famous for their brio, a feature ever present in his own. The sole early description of Canova in action is that of Abbate Melchior Missirini: "In fact whenever modeling some invention, one would always see him involve himself in his passion for the subject, with an alteration of his physiognomy, with tears, with joy, and with a general convulsion of his body."⁶

Canova himself called his clay models "invenzioni." As a fledgling in Rome, he studied by day at the life class on the Campidoglio known as the Accademia del Nudo, an auxiliary of the Accademia di San Luca, where he both drew and modeled,⁷ and at home by candlelight. Basically he saw drawing and modeling as interactive, parts of the same process, and it is not always clear what he means



Fig. 9
Nollekens, *Laocoon*, terracotta, about
1762–70. London, Victoria and Albert
Museum

2. Smith 1828, vol. 2, pp. 13–14.

3. Boucher in Houston and London 2001–2, p. 258.

4. Rome 1951–52, nos. 1–29 (includes some paintings).

5. Rome and Venice 1991–92.

6. Missirini 1824–25, vol. 2, p. 113. The only other early remarks on Canova and clay are less physical: Memes (1825, p. 556) simply describes his models as guides to the eventual establishing of a composition.

7. See, for example, Macdonald 1986–87.

when he says he was “inventing.” However, on May 8, 1780, he noted in his diary that he “came back home and drew in my room and then in the evening invented.”⁸ The choice of words, as Hugh Honour remarks, implies that modeling was the second, inventive function.⁹

The intimate atmosphere in which modeling is ordinarily carried out makes it difficult to know when, where, and even if artists saw each other’s models. Such knowledge is easiest to detect in Paris, where the public Salon often included a sculptor’s sketches or more advanced models in clay, just as painters’ oil sketches might be exhibited. By the middle of the eighteenth century the French boasted an especially brilliant school of highly articulate and eloquent modelers. But Rome was the cosmopolitan melting pot, the principal theater, in which ideas, some brought from home, were tried out and transmitted. We are left to imagine the wealth of information sharing that must have taken place in Rome, whether in the academic circles at work in that city, with its perfect mania for academies, or in private. Scores of young foreign sculptors, sent by their home governments or arriving through their own efforts, were to be found there in any given year. With increasing regularity foreigners won the prizes for modeling awarded by the Accademia di San Luca. Many were fully formed, having demonstrated their gifts as modelers and being in command of a personal style, even before winning competitions in their home states. This was especially true of the French, whose government followed scholars’ progress at the Académie de France in Rome with paternal interest. It is the nature of youth to be gregarious and receptive to impressions. Pajou, in Rome in 1752–56 (the usual Roman sojourn seems to have lasted from two to four years), was an accomplished modeler when he arrived. He spent his time in the study of antique sculpture which would inform his own style for decades to come. Pajou’s experience of daily life was exhilarating—his notebooks are full of Italian phrases.¹⁰ He knew collectors and went on drawing expeditions with the English architect William Chambers. Pajou’s Italian stint did not allow time for modeling, but when Clodion, soon to be his son-in-law (and an unhappy one at that), returned from Rome, he brought highly developed techniques of modeling and firing from which Pajou eventually benefited. Clodion had spent some nine years in Rome, selling his lighthearted Neoclassical terracotta confections to the wealthy and sophisticated visitors who filled the Eternal City. He also made fruitful artistic connections, notably interacting with the Swedish sculptor Sergel, for instance, like a chef trading recipes with a colleague. From Stuttgart in 1785 came two friends, Dannecker and Scheffauer, backed by their sovereign, traveling together and working hard at developing a common language in modeling. Many clubbed with their conationalists, no doubt, but most came unaccompanied and threw themselves into an environment that in the second half of the eighteenth century was remarkably welcoming to strangers, whose paths were eased by the presence of many embassies.

8. Canova 1994, p. 134.

9. In Houston and London 2001–2, pp. 70, 288 n. 36.

10. Or a hit-or-miss admixture of the two, such as “chez Le Prince Rospigliosi [Rospigliosi] in Roma”; Draper and Scherf 1997, p. 76, no. II, 50. It would be good to know more about how foreign artists communicated. Italian was probably the most useful language, but see Canova’s marvelously stilted English exercise book, printed in Canova 1994, pp. 231–50.

All these young talents derived intellectual stimulation not only from the antique and their discussion of it with each other but also through contact with painters and architects, writers and musicians, collectors and dealers, benevolent statesmen, learned clerics, and indulgent antiquarians. The spirit of Johann Joachim Winckelmann, who had died in 1768, lived on to govern discourse on classical antiquity and aesthetics.¹¹ Sculptors are usually practical sorts, and Winckelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (Dresden, 1764) may have gathered marble dust on their shelves, but the cult of beauty it promoted remained alive and invigorating, in the air for many decades. Thanks to Winckelmann, the objects found in excavations were subjected to rigorous examination concerning their origin and interpretation, and sculptors used an elevated stylistic language to give their own work greater authority. His influence spread beyond Rome: a well-traveled Swiss modeler, Trippel, had known the gospel according to Winckelmann since boyhood, long before he got to Rome, when he studied in Copenhagen with Wiedewelt, who had been a particular friend of the sage. But Rome would remain the critical experience in many sculptors' lives. Indeed, I can count only two in our exhibition who may never have visited Rome: Sonnenschein and Clémence-Sophie de Sermézy (our only woman modeler), neither inclined to take heroic stances, both able *petits maîtres* of genre groups. By the early nineteenth century, the hospitable studios of Canova and Thorvaldsen (the latter staffed by a most heterogeneous international crew of assistants) would compete with the expanding collections of antiquities at the Vatican and in Naples to make Italy more than ever a mecca for sculptors.

The second important locus remained Paris. The long-established Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture had had great success in its mission of developing and promoting talent from all over France. And an eminent sculptor's studio such as Pajou's drew assistants from every corner of the country as well as from abroad. Pajou presented Sergel to the Académie in 1779. Between 1783 and 1785 Dannecker and Scheffauer, young but already established as court sculptors in Stuttgart, had left for Paris on foot and worked in Pajou's studio, even before they got to Rome, again on foot. There were even three "pensioners of the King of Spain," styled "Joseph Alvarez de Cordoba, Emmanuel Michel de Madrid, and Joseph Aparicio d'alicant" living in Pajou's house in 1799.¹²

On a grander scale Canova made command appearances in Paris during the Empire, when some French masters resented the favors he was shown by Napoleon and the commissions that came his way. No feud erupted comparable to that of the partisans of Gluck and Piccinni at the opera, perhaps owing to Canova's tact and geniality and to the power he enjoyed. For that matter, there may later have been a certain coolness between Canova and Thorvaldsen in Rome, as the young Dane began to obtain important commissions, but matters never got out of hand between these magnificent rivals.

11. Winckelmann, himself a prolific writer, has inspired a voluminous literature. See, to cite just one example, Potts 1994.

12. Paris and New York 1997–98, p. 24 n. 23.



Fig. 10
Clodion, *Balloon Monument*,
terracotta, probably 1784. New York,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Rogers Fund and Anonymous Gift,
1944, 44.21ab

In reality, the internationalization of modeling had begun long before Neoclassicism crystallized around Canova, the French Empire style, and Thorvaldsen. Among Late Baroque sculptors who can be thought of as heralds of Neoclassicism—Bouchardon, Roubiliac, and Spinazzi, for example—were several who led peripatetic careers after the early years they spent in Italy. The Flemish-born Verschaffelt, another important precursor, studied and worked in Ghent, Paris, and Rome, later visiting London before becoming court sculptor at Mannheim, where he founded the drawing academy. Like so many, he had a life full of fruitful encounters.

Reciprocity prevailed between many centers, as Catherine the Great consulted the philosophes about French sculptors worthy of her, while her young Russian protégés were welcomed into Parisian ateliers. Provincial academies, such as those in Toulouse and Bologna, acknowledged foreign modelers with honorary memberships.

Touching tributes to Dannecker, a fellow sculptor of great distinction, included Canova's stop to see him in Stuttgart in 1815 and visits by Thorvaldsen in 1819 and again in 1841 when the veteran, inactive, was near death. And when David d'Angers toured Germany in the 1830s, there was hardly a sculptor of note, including Dannecker, whose portrait he did not model. Nationalism

13. Remington (1944) remains a fine account.

meant less then than it did before and after, and our niceties of stylistic labeling hardly existed. The antiquated Rococo airiness of Clodion's masterpiece, his *Balloon Monument* (fig. 10),¹³ would probably not have caused as much surprise among Neoclassical artists as it does us, with our preconceptions of a stately progress of style through the period. And it would not have occurred even once to the Romantic David d'Angers that he should cease to revere the giants of Neoclassicism.

1

Sculptors and Their Methods



The mythic accounts of sculpture's origins give immense importance to the modeling of clay, the first act of creation: "And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul."¹ Prometheus is said to have created the first man, in the image of the gods, by modeling him from clay. Ovid wrote: "So, then, the earth, which had but lately been a rough and formless thing, was changed and clothed itself with forms of men before unknown"²—a miracle forbidden to his son Deucalion: "Oh, would that by my father's arts I might restore the nations, as did he, and breathe, as did he, the breath of life into the molded clay."³ A celebrated image by Piero di Cosimo shows Prometheus modeling a human figure.⁴ Pliny relates that the daughter of the Corinthian potter Butades was in love with a young man who was about to depart for a foreign land. To capture his image, she drew a dark line around his face projected on the wall by the light of a lantern; her father applied clay to the drawing to make a relief of it and, after letting it dry, fired it with the rest of his pottery.⁵ In this account the invention of drawing preceded that of sculpture, the Greek maiden having first traced her beloved's shadow on the wall.⁶ Vasari held that drawing was the "foundation" and "soul" of all the arts,⁷ and in academic instruction it became the basis of all artistic study.

"I was quite happy to have acquired a terracotta . . . : it is so to speak a manuscript, clay being the work of the solitary artist and his first thought."⁸ Here David d'Angers, who was also a great draftsman, underscores the importance of clay in developing the essence of a sculpture.⁹ A terracotta embodies "the fire and the true talent of the artist," noted La Live de Jully, one of the most important amateurs of the eighteenth century.¹⁰ Since antiquity sculptors also used wax for preparatory studies and models; as Winckelmann observed: "Their models were generally made of wax; instead of which the moderns used clay, or such like unctuous stuff, as seeming fitter for expressing flesh, than the

1. King James Bible, Genesis 2:7.

2. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1:86–87.

3. *Ibid.*, 1:364–65.

4. Piero di Cosimo, *Scenes from the Life of Prometheus*, about 1510 (Munich, Alte Pinakothek). On this same subject, see also Raggio 1958.

5. Pliny, *Natural History*, book 35.

6. See Rosenblum 1957.

7. Georgel and Lecoq 1987, p. 100.

8. David d'Angers, letter of December 5, 1836, quoted in Jouin 1890, p. 117. The terracotta to which he was referring is Houdon's bust of Dumouriez.

9. Some painters, such as Poussin, also modeled figures in order to study such elements as the fall of drapery over a figure. "Carle Van Loo modeled the figures of his groups in clay, in order to light them in the most accurate and piquant way possible." Diderot, *Pensées détachées sur la peinture* (1776; Diderot 1995, p. 410). According to Delécluze (1885, p. 67), "[Jacques-Louis] David recommended to his students that they model in clay."

10. La Live de Jully 1764, pp. vi–vii.



Fig. 11
Boilly, *The Studio of Houdon*, after 1803, oil on canvas. Cherbourg, Musée Thomas Henry



Fig. 12
Desmarais, *Antoine Chaudet*, 1788, oil on canvas. Paris, private collection

11. Winckelmann 1755; Winckelmann, *Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks*, trans. Henry Fusseli (1765; reprint, London, 1999), p. 40.

12. Gaborit 1987, p. 17.

13. *L'Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, an anthology of plates with commentaries on sculpture (1762–72; reprint, Paris, 2001); Carradori 1802 (2002 ed.).

14. To name a few: Baudry 1978; Nicholas Penny, *The Materials of Sculpture* (New Haven and London, 1993); Maria Grazia Vaccari et al., *La scultura in terracotta: Tecniche e conservazione* (Florence, 1996); Charlotte Hubbard and Peta Motture, in Houston and London 2001–2, pp. 82–95.

15. Among the clays used by Clodion, some, “of French origin,” are “particularly endowed with a high proportion of silicon and aluminum,” while others, of Italian origin, “have a high proportion of chalk (more than 20 percent of its composition);” Paris 1992a, pp. 418–19. The clays used in France by Jean-Baptiste Nini were rich in silicon and aluminum, while those used by his forger, Emile Balon, at the end of the nineteenth century, are chalky (a natural mixture of calcite and various clays); Urbino and Blois 2001–2, pp. 118–19.

16. Carradori 1802 (2002 ed.), p. 23.

17. In the first engraving in the volume of the *Encyclopédie* devoted to sculpture in all genres, entitled *Sculpture en terre et en plâtre à la main*, signed “P. Falconet Fils Inv.,” the captions explain the actions of the different personages shown, as follows: no. 1: “sculptor who models in bas-relief after a freestanding sculpture”; no. 2:

more gluey and tenacious wax.”¹¹ The fragility of wax, which is very sensitive to variations in temperature, made its preservation difficult in the workshop, and few examples have survived.¹² By contrast, terracotta, because of its firing in the kiln, which gives it great durability, can be more easily safeguarded.

A form modeled in damp clay is often presented as the emblem of the sculptor in a painted portrait. When Boilly evokes Houdon modeling a male figure with his Promethean hands, he also shows his studio surroundings. The artist, wearing a smock, fashions a statuette installed upon his turntable beside a block of clay covered with linen to keep it moist, with a basin of water nearby (fig. 11). The linen and the wood table recur in Desmarais’s portrait of the young Antoine Chaudet, shown in an intellectual pose, head on hand, dreamily pondering a small group that is already quite advanced (fig. 12). Wearing an elegant suit and a cravat, he holds the *ébauchoir* as delicately as if it were a pencil or pen. Near the chisel is a sponge, ready to moisten the clay, indicating that the creative process is always ongoing. Hands and tool, action and thought—together these determine the creative act, superbly evoked by Carpentiers in showing Roubiliac modeling his statuette of Shakespeare (cat. no. 2).

The various processes for the elaboration of a work in clay were extensively described in the eighteenth century¹³ and continue to be studied to the present day.¹⁴ Of primary importance is the choice and preparation of the basic material. Clay occurs in nature in a variety of mixtures, and chemical and mineralogical analysis can determine its geographical origin and even its age.¹⁵ To ensure a successful firing, the artist must accurately evaluate the clay’s purity and homogeneity.¹⁶ Once a block of clay has been chosen, it must be kept damp to maintain its malleability. Using his hands and specialized tools (fig. 13),¹⁷ the

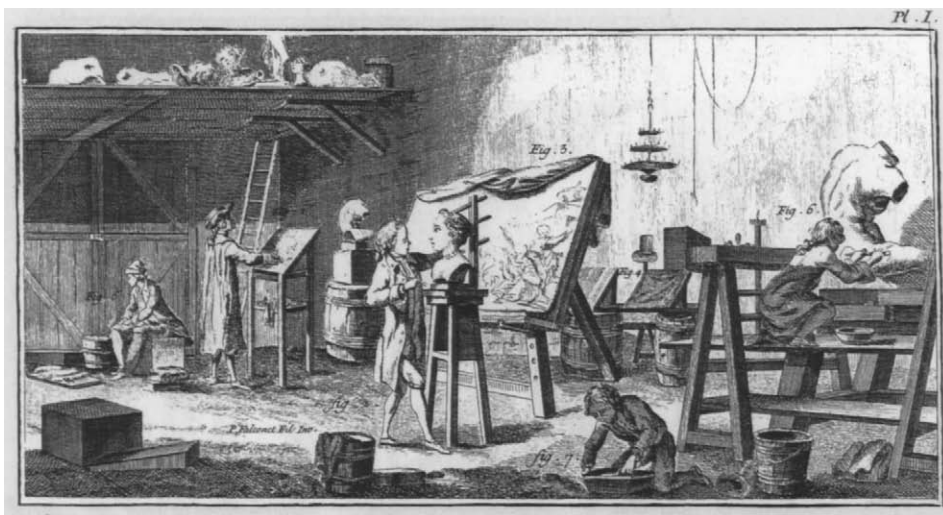


Fig. 13
Pierre-Étienne Falconet (son of the sculptor Étienne-Maurice Falconet), *Modeling in Terracotta and in Plaster by Hand*, engraved plate from the *Encyclopédie*, 1771. Paris, Bibliothèque des Musées de France

artist roughs out forms by manipulating the mass to develop a balance between solids and voids. He adds material by pressing clay pellets, kneaded between the fingers, onto the composition using the thumb or a tool (the toothed *ébauchoir*, a spatula, or the like). Excess clay is eliminated with a *mirette* (a pointed tool), a knife, or a wire (for trimming rough edges). He may refer to preexisting drawings, which were rarely saved apart from exceptional cases (among these, the sketches of Canova, Sergel, and David d'Angers). These preparatory works are not to be confused with drawings after finished pieces, which show a late stage in the development of a work or illustrate a finished model (there are notable examples by Bouchardon, Vassé, and Pajou). Naturally, the fact that we no longer have the drawings of several sculptors does not mean that they did not, at some point, make sketches that helped them set down ideas parallel to those in their models; however, an artist such as Clodion (who left no drawings) could make his own the phrase attributed to Ghiberti: "For a sculptor, modeling is drawing."¹⁸

The artist, rapidly modeling his sketches, was then inspired to realize one or several models. These could exhibit various states of finish and their proportions could be one third, one half, or actually lifesize, or they could be made as autonomous pieces, destined to satisfy the increasingly keen taste of collectors for this type of object. Bouchardon described the development of *Cupid Carving His Bow from the Club of Hercules*: "In 1745 sieur Bouchardon began his study, after letting the subject gestate and having secured his thoughts through a first sketch in clay. A great number of plans from nature and from several models ensued, which resulted in a terracotta model two *pieds* [65 cm (25 5/8 in.)] wide

"sculptor who models a head [in] the round"; no. 3: "bas-relief"; no. 4: "small easels for modeling, attached to a table or a bench"; no. 5: "studio assistant who prepares the clay"; no. 6: "sculptor who models in plaster by hand"; no. 7: "laborer who mixes the plaster."

18. Quoted by Giacometti 1929, vol. 1, p. 122.

19. Quoted in Furcy-Raynaud 1927, p. 50. The marble measures 173 cm (68 1/8 in.; Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 1, p. 115, ill.), slightly smaller than the terracotta because of the clay's shrinkage during the drying and firing processes. No sketch or model by Bouchardon for this work exists today; the statuette in the Musée Bonnat in Bayonne is not signed and must be considered a copy.

20. Some great artists at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, such as Canova, Flaxman, Chantrey, and Thorvaldsen, preferred to use this procedure rather than preserve their fragile clay models. On Canova, see especially Honour in Houston and London 2001–2, p. 75.

and another five and a half *pieds* [178 cm (70½ in.)] high, both made entirely by the author. Molds were made from these models. Plaster casts were then made from the molds, both whole and in parts. . . . These preparations done, work on the marble commenced.”¹⁹

Some of the clay models were not fired but, once dry, were used to create “waste molds ” (implying the models’ loss) from which to make plaster casts that were close replicas, but far less fragile.²⁰ A mold from the plaster could then be used to produce multiple casts, while preserving the original.²¹ Sketches in unfired clay must have been numerous in studios, but because of their fragility, they are now extremely rare.²² To pass without mishap through drying (and then firing), and to avoid cracking and splitting, the piece was hollowed out, usually without armatures (which could cause a piece to crack during the firing). When the pieces were very large—not usual during this period²³—they were fired in several pieces that were cut apart by wire. After coming out of the kiln, the pieces were joined with glue and frequently plaster grout. After firing, most works were brushed with a colored slip, a thin wash of clay mixed with pigment, which masked irregularities in the clay (such as bits of pyrite or iron) or flaws in the surface (cracks, small deformations, and discoloration from uneven firing). This delicate slip, which often gave a satiny appearance to the works, has often not held up well and can be partly missing, if not completely gone, especially when damaged by aggressive restoration. Sometimes a colored patina (for example, a dark tint that gave the look of bronze or gold) could radically change the work’s appearance; frequently applied to plasters, it is rarer on terracottas from the eighteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century, an era when the taste for this material and its color made such alterations unnecessary.

Along with modeled terracottas, naturally, a great number of cast terracottas survive. The process of press molding (whereby clay was pressed into a hollow mold to make a proof) was often used for portrait busts (none of which are included here) or large sculptures (such as Houdon’s *Voltaire Seated*, cat. no. 110). These were reworked with finishing tools to accentuate details and smooth the surfaces.

The exhibition allows one to appreciate the broad range of techniques used by sculptors throughout Europe during the century of work under discussion.

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21. The procedure was described by Houdon for his bust of Cardinal de Rohan; see Scherf in Washington, Los Angeles, and Versailles 2003–4, p. 26 n. 53.

22. A handsome group of works in unfired clay by Barthélemy Chardigny is in the Musée Granet in Aix-en-Provence.

23. Aside from *Voltaire Seated* (cat. no. 110), one could cite Caffieri’s *Love Seeking Refuge in the Arms of Friendship* (Thyssen Collection) and his *Corneille* (Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts), as well as Houdon’s *Diana the Huntress* (New York, Frick Collection).

Visualizing the Modeler

The representation of sculptors—in self-portraits and portraits by other artists—is potentially a rewarding topic, but it has never been studied comprehensively. If it were, a range of attitudes toward the profession and the personalities would be discerned. The essential decision in any representation is whether or not to show the sculptor at work. If so shown, he is meant to evince pride in his trade and/or the keenness of his invention. If not, he may be understood as rising above mundane concerns to assert an intellectual independence.

Self-portraits of sculptors go back at least to the fifteenth century and the celebrated Florentine Lorenzo Ghiberti. Roundels containing his bust—one turbaned, the other bald and riant—are among those of prophets and sybils surrounding both pairs of doors of the Florentine Baptistery and form signatures, as it were, on these familiar works. By contrast with Ghiberti's assertion of himself as a savant, Peter Vischer the Younger, in his hardly less familiar self-portrait on the Sebaldus Tomb in Nuremberg, clad in leather apron and wielding his hammer, announces the artisan.

With the decline of guilds and the rise of art academies, the sixteenth century would increasingly see sculptors, like painters, confronting the world as intellectuals. Johan Gregor van der Schardt's small painted terracotta bust of himself, modeled about 1570, is one of the earliest freestanding self-portraits in bust format to survive.¹ It is, moreover, a nude bust, with features that suggest a nature both assured and nervously questing. A Baroque

genius of the magnitude of Gian Lorenzo Bernini would not hesitate to explore a similar vein in his self-portraits, drawn and painted up close with anxious expressions, or to leave inflections of his own features on a work of greater amplitude, the *David* in the Galleria Borghese.

By the end of the seventeenth century a painter would represent a sculptor-friend against the backdrop of the latter's works, and such portraits became a staple of Late Baroque French art. For example, in a portrait of the puissant academicien Nicolas Coustou by Nicolas de Largillierre (about 1715; Berlin, Staatliche Museen), the sculptor is shown before his modeling stand, which bears his (lost) model for a group of Spring (also lost) for the Hôtel de Noailles, Paris.² On a shelf behind are a clay Antinous after the antique (demonstrating the correctness of Coustou's taste and training) and clay and marble figures of children. His hands are eloquent, one inviting us into the composition, the other holding a modeling tool, as if having just given the finishing touches to the group. His costume is an amalgam: the open shirt is traditional garb denoting labor as well as creative urge, while the full wig and velvet jacket hint at a certain nobility.

The "Coustou" type endured in France as a mainstay of the Paris Salon and spread to all parts of Europe. Thus Bartolomeo Cavaceppi got Anton von Maron to draw him at work around 1769 (fig. 14); the drawing was engraved as a frontispiece to Cavaceppi's *Raccolta d'antiche statue*,³ a three-volume work that advertises his prowess



Fig. 14
After Maron, *Bartolomeo Cavaceppi*, 1769, engraving.
New York, The Metropolitan
Museum of Art, Watson
Library



Fig. 15
Cavaceppi, Venus, about
1769, terracotta. Bergamo,
Accademia Carrara

at restoring antiquities. The details of his costume—turban and sashed fur-lined dressing gown—speak at once of comfort and success. The pudgy, youthful artist pauses with his exceptionally graceful hands, one deploying a spatula, before a model that is loosely adapted from an ancient type of Venus, framed by a swath of drapery. Perhaps distracted by his collaboration with Maron on this buoyant image, Cavaceppi neglected to sign the clay Venus, which in fact survives in the Zeri collection at the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo (fig. 15). It bears a Chinard “signature” in ink and so has been attributed to him,⁴ but the tenderly differentiated pleats and folds are Cavaceppi’s, not Chinard’s, and the Classical-Baroque vase ornament would have been foreign to Chinard.⁵

It is probably hard enough for a draftsman or painter to capture his own features, peering constantly from mirror to paper or canvas. How much more challenging for a sculptor to move between mirror and modeling stand! But surely the self-likenesses exhibited here were modeled using drawings—certainly in the case of Flaxman (cat. no. 3), who scrutinized his features painstakingly in drawings done around the same time. Chinard idealized habitually as he modeled, so that his peerless self-statuettes may reflect feeling as much as reality (cat. no. 4), while Pinelli gloried in his own unorthodox appearance, judging by the number of self-portraits in drawings and prints that precede the statuette seen in this section (cat. no. 5). These three works depart from the tradition of depicting sculptors at work (only the inscription identifies Flaxman’s profession). It must be that original, hard-working, and talented artists such as

Flaxman, Chinard, and Pinelli were striving for new means of stressing their independence and intellect. Each was in a sense an exhibitionist; each also, as an expert modeler, keenly aware of how uncannily clay can be manipulated to imitate flesh, establish similitude, and suggest all the nuances of personality.

Even grander, in keeping with his prodigious output, was the self-awareness of Canova. Not only was he the most frequently portrayed of all Neoclassical artists, admired alike for the handsomeness of his long head and the kindness of his manner,⁶ but at least a trace of his own features can be found in virtually every subject he ever tackled, from the heads of Paris and Perseus to Napoleon and even Mme Mère (cat. no. 47).⁷ A Frenchman in Rome, François-Xavier Fabre, resorted to the old pictorial tradition in which the subject is glimpsed in the studio. Fabre’s Canova, wigged and fifty-five, is posed as if resting between the completion of his (lost) clay model for the *Venus Italica*, with its purity of inception, and work on chiseling the foot of *Ajax*, with its sureness of execution (fig. 16). Canova’s colossal marble self-portrait, raised to his glory in his native Possagno, is dated 1812, the same year as the *Venus Italica*, the *Ajax*, and the Fabre portrait. It is imperative to illustrate it in our context (fig. 17), even if no clay model for it survives.⁷ From Roland to Thorvaldsen, other good-looking Neoclassical sculptors would make self-portraits, but Canova’s remains the epitome of elevated, even godlike idealism. It would seem outrageously egotistic were it not for the artist’s overwhelming sincerity and serene awareness of the admiration he attracted.

JDD



Fig. 16
Fabre, *Antonio Canova*,
1812, oil on canvas.
Montpellier, Musée Fabre

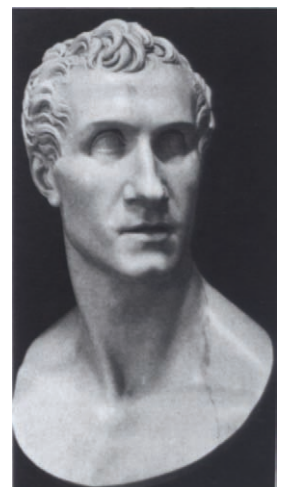


Fig. 17
Canova, *Self-portrait*,
1812, marble. Possagno,
Tempio Canoviano

1. See Scholten 2001.
2. Montreal 1981, no. 48.
3. Cavaceppi 1768–72, vol. 2. See Ingo Pfeifer in Wörlitz 1999, no. 46, and Houston and London 2001–2, no. 72, for Maron's drawing in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, as well as p. 44, fig. 43, for Cavaceppi's engraved frontispiece to vol. 1, in which the turbaned sculptor models a head at a low table. His progenitive role contrasts with the less lofty manual tasks, such as pointing and carving, carried out by his assistants.
4. See Bacchi in Milan and Bergamo 1989, no. 20. The terracotta follows the pose of a marble Venus which Cavaceppi restored and sold to Henry Constantine Jennings in London, except that the latter stands beside a priapic herm instead of a vase (Cavaceppi 1768–72, vol. 1, pl. 7).
5. It could be the "Venus with some draperies" valued at 150 scudi in the list of Cavaceppi's works drawn up by his fellow sculptors Agostino Penna and Vincenzo Pacetti for Prince Marcantonio Borghese in 1802 (Barberini in Rome 1994, p. 56).
6. See Honour 1998. The inaugural space of the great Museo Correr Canova exhibition in 1992, surveying the iconography of the master, almost stole the show, even though the self-portrait was represented by a plaster (Venice and Possagno 1992, pp. 90–101). Canova's noble looks had struck one and all, but his onetime assistant Adamo Tadolini could not resist a bit of minor malice: "Apart from all other considerations, the sculptor's mouth, while having extraordinary and uncontested genius, was not graceful, but smiled, and to tell the truth, it was a mouth that stayed open naturally. And to think that there are some who treat said defect as an index of idiotism!" (Tadolini 1900, p. 152, fn.).
7. On February 12, 1812, Canova mentioned to a friend that he was "at the point of having to model my self-portrait . . . so I have put my hand to the clay" (his word, *creta*, usually refers to unfired clay). Canova 1994, p. 413.

1

LOUIS FRANÇOIS ROUBILIAC

Lyon, about 1705–London, 1762

William Shakespeare

Inscribed on top left side of desk: *L F Roubiliac / in.^t et Fec. 1757*.
Terracotta, remains of red-brown paint, 55.9 × 40.6 × 26.7 cm (22 × 16 × 10½ in.)
Washington, D.C., Folger Shakespeare Library (FSs1)

PROVENANCE

Roubiliac estate sale in his house in St. Martin's Lane, London, May 12–15, 1762, possibly no. 74; probably Thomas Hudson, London, his estate sale, Christie's February 25–26, 1785, no. 36; bought by Jean-Baptiste Le Brun, Paris; Édouard Chappey, Paris, his sale, Galerie Georges Petit, vol. 1, March 11–15, 1907, no. 391, ill.; Mrs. Ludwig Mond, London; Sir Israel Gollancz, London; sold by him through Rosenbach to Henry Clay Folger, 1926

EXHIBITIONS

Probably London 1760, no. 88; London 1917, no. 381; San Francisco, Kansas City, Pittsburgh, Dallas, and Atlanta 1979–81, p. 200

REFERENCES

Esdaile 1928, pp. 124, 138; Bindman 1992, p. 4, ill.; Bindman and Baker 1995, pp. 76–79; Dawson 1999, pp. 199, 204

This terracotta is the definitive model for Louis François Roubiliac's marble *Shakespeare* now in the British Museum (fig. 18). As in his personifications of George Frideric Handel (Victoria and Albert Museum and Westminster Abbey; Bindman and Baker 1995, pls. 28, 80, 81), Roubiliac proves himself an adept conjurer of genius,

manipulating the conventions of the full-length figure posed informally (*en négligé*) to suggest the great man in the throes of creativity as he works away, as if at home in his study. There had been earlier marble commemorations of Shakespeare (Peter Scheemakers, in Westminster Abbey and at Wilton, for example), but none with the drama provided by Roubiliac. The main difference between Roubiliac's model and marble is that the latter has been given a fleshier, wittier visage. The terracotta head adheres to the conventions of the thin-faced "Chandos" portrait (National Portrait Gallery, London; Dawson 1999, p. 200, fig. 56).

Roubiliac usually comes across as a highly rational Late Baroque sculptor with Neoclassical leanings that are



Fig. 18
Roubiliac, *William Shakespeare*,
1758, marble. London,
British Museum



1

implicit rather than declared, although his designs for tombs would influence funerary monuments all across Neoclassical Europe. In his Shakespeare the ponderation of limbs recalls generically the *Farnese Hercules* (Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 229–32, no. 46, fig. 118), beloved of all Baroque sculptors. The ancient marble hero greatly influenced a painting by Paolo de Matteis, *The Judgment of Hercules*, commissioned by Lord Shaftesbury at the beginning of the century and thereafter much discussed by the British intelligentsia (see Panofsky 1930, p. 131 and pl. 52). Its central figure contemplating his choice between virtue and vice is also echoed here by Roubiliac.

Our sculptor uses eyes raised skyward and finger to chin to indicate the search for inspiration. By the end of the period we are investigating, the rhetoric would have seemed rather heavy. In 1828 David d'Angers visited the British Museum and found “a statue of Shakespeare in the vestibule. First, there is no more unsuitable spot for the statue of a great man. It is treated like a piece of furniture. He leans on an enormous desk which is much wider than his figure. The right leg is forward, like a dancer's, the finger put to the mouth is like a man to whom a wicked idea has just occurred. Is that the genius of Shakespeare? This figure is horrible.” David, little as he

cared for the statue, acknowledged that it was unfairly placed against a wall (David d'Angers 1958, vol. 1, pp. 9, 12; further adverse commentary in Cunningham 1859–68, vol. 3, pp. 49–51).

In fact, the marble is unfinished in back, having been planned for a niche where its rough-hewn back would have been hidden. It was commissioned by Roubiliac's friend the great actor David Garrick to occupy a *tempietto* erected to the bard's memory in the garden of his property at Hampton in Middlesex. Garrick, a Shakespeare specialist whose own agile but stocky form may be reflected in the figure, gave it to the British Museum at his wife's death in 1822. The air of distracted inspiration is akin to that in a double portrait of the Garricks by another of his friends, William Hogarth, in the British Royal Collections, dated 1757, the year of this model (Millar 1963, p. 185, no. 560). In the Hogarth, Mrs. Garrick hovers over the actor like a playful muse as he pauses, pen suspended, between phrases.

Dawson prints a copy of a lost letter, dated July 22, 1757, from the sculptor to the actor: "Mem.dum. I agree to make Mr. Garrick a Statue of Shakespeare at full length according to ye Settled Model with Pedestal. He is to place it in his Garden at Hampton before ye End of next Summer for three hundred pounds" (Dawson 1999, p. 198, fig. 53). True to his word, Roubiliac finished the marble in good time, dating it 1758.

A smaller, blander, and more rudimentary terracotta model, dated 1757 like the present one, is in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Bilbey 2002, p. 117, no. 159, ill.), but it is clearly the Folger Library's terracotta, considerably larger, that was the "Settled Model." Most of its details, especially the embroidery of Tudor roses and the fringe of the rug over the desk, exactly anticipate those of the marble. Examination of this "Settled Model," with its small regular cavity under the desk and lines that indicate mold marks, indicates that it was cast with the most delicately worked passages retouched with wet clay, the whole then fired. The remains of red-brown paint on the pinkish clay are of uncertain date.

Both terracottas are fully modeled in back; it had not yet occurred to Roubiliac to take into account the size of his marble block or the statue's intended position in the niche at Hampton. In turn, this is certainly the terracotta that occurs in Adrien Carpentiers's portrait of the sculptor (cat. no. 2), in which the jacket is fastened in precisely the same way, with the middle buttons opened to reveal the subject's paunch and the lowest two buttoned tightly.

JDD

ADRIEN CARPENTIER

active in England by 1739–died London, 1778

Roubiliac Modeling Shakespeare

Oil on canvas, 127.5 × 101 cm (50¼ × 39¾ in.)
New Haven, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection
(B1981.25.87)

PROVENANCE

Paul Mellon, acquired in London, 1972; his gift to the Yale Center, 1981

REFERENCES

Gwynn 1985, fig. 26; Bindman and Baker 1995, pp. 77–79, ill.

This is apparently Adrien Carpentiers's replica of the painting dated 1762 in the National Portrait Gallery, London (Kerslake 1977, vol. 1, pp. 237–38, no. 303, vol. 2, pl. 699); it is perhaps the canvas that belonged to Kenneth Sanduson in 1931 (mentioned by Kerslake). The composition closely follows that by Andrea Soldi in the Dulwich Picture Gallery, said by George Vertue to have been painted in November of 1751, in which Louis François Roubiliac is shown at work on his figure of Charity for the Montagu tomb at Warkton (Kerslake 1977, vol. 2, pl. 693). Soldi's second version in the Garrick Club, London, dated 1757, shows the sculptor modeling a bust of the actor David Garrick instead (Ashton 1997, p. 381, no. 727, ill.). Soldi may have been the abler painter, but there is no denying that Carpentiers upped the drama when he substituted the bard for the allegory or the actor. The model in the present painting is identical with cat. no. 1, although in the painting it is gray: either Carpentiers glimpsed it before fixing, or it was originally painted gray, or more likely he based it on a drawing rather than having the object itself in front of him.

An undated marble bust of Roubiliac in the National Portrait Gallery, London, long considered a self-portrait, but probably by Joseph Wilton, shows him alert and broad-chested, at his prime (Kerslake 1977, vol. 1, pp. 236–37, no. 2145, vol. 2, pls. 694, 695). Carpentiers's sculptor is older and wirier, a workman passionately involved in putting in the last touches with his stylus; calipers rest on the turntable, which allowed him to rotate the piece and to judge it and touch it up from every point of view. Cunningham notes, "He is touching the sight of the eye, with his modelling tool—a delicate operation, which would have required both a calm mind and a steady hand" (Cunningham 1859–68, vol. 3, p. 58). Picking up from this, Bindman and Baker remark that he is caught "in the very act of working on Shakespeare's animated eye, his own mouth open as if he himself is drawing from and sharing the poet's frenzy of creation. This may refer



2

to the strong contemporary perception that Garrick's 'Speaking Eye' was the key to his genius as an actor, and that it was the central organ in conveying Shakespeare's meaning." Desmond Shawe-Taylor observes that Roubiliac has a terror-stricken aspect as if overawed by his subject (in Nottingham and Edinburgh 1987, p. 36). In fact, his nervous, worn appearance in the paintings is that of a creator burning himself out, the result of a lifetime of hard work. His death before the age of sixty,

so a nineteenth-century biographer tells us, was "hastened by his custom of labouring with his chisel late in the evenings, after all his workmen had retired" (Cunningham 1859–68, vol. 3, p. 57), to which his twentieth-century biographer adds: "he had lived at high pressure for many years; and the fiery soul had fretted the fragile body to decay" (Esdaile 1928, p. 166).

JDD

JOHN FLAXMAN

York, 1755–London, 1826

Self-portrait

Inscribed around the rim: + HANC SVI IPSIVS EFFIGIEM FECIT IOANNES FLAXMAN IVNIOR ARTIFEX STATVARIVM ET COELATOR ALVMNVS EX ACADEMIA REGALE • ANNO AETATIS [SVAE] XXIV • A.D. MDCCCLXXVIII • (John Flaxman Junior, maker of statuary and relief carver, former student at the Royal Academy, made this portrait of himself in his 24th year, A.D. 1778) Terracotta, painted pale gray, diam. 18.7 cm (7½ in.) London, Victoria and Albert Museum (294-1864)

PROVENANCE

Presumably Sir William Hamilton, Naples, by 1789; catalogued by Hamilton himself at Palazzo Sessa, Naples, in 1798; John Watkins Brett, London, sale Christie's, April 5–18, 1864, no. 988, bought by the museum

EXHIBITIONS

Presumably London, Royal Academy, 1779, no. 91 ("Portrait in terra cota"); London 1951–52, no. 426, ill.; London 1979, no. 4a, ill.; London 1995, no. c9, ill.

REFERENCES

Constable 1927, pp. 80–81, 83 (as a wax); Deutsch 1943, p. 38, ill.; Whinney 1971, pp. 138–39, no. 44, ill.; Williamson 1996, p. 164, ill.; Bilbey 2002, pp. 76–77, no. 102, ill.

One of the icons of British art, this roundel shows the young artist gazing fixedly before him. Although John Flaxman was sickly as a youngster, his "fine eyes and beautiful forehead" were remarked on from childhood (Cunningham 1859–68, vol. 3, p. 239). Hair and attire artfully disheveled, in a way that recalls Thomas Gainsborough's *Blue Boy* (about 1780), he has the enduring allure of a rock star. Carefully penned self-portrait drawings survive from this period; the terracotta likeness must have been preceded by a drawing such as fig. 19 (although this one is dated a year later) and probably a profile drawing (or even a silhouette) as well; it is hardly



thinkable that he turned repeatedly from the mirror to his model on this close-focus scale. The performance is a virtuoso one: the impeccably shaped profile rises almost two inches from the background and some ends of curls clear the mass of the clay with air between them.

Flaxman taught himself Latin and Greek, but there are no strong echoes of Greco-Roman antiquity here. The viewer might think vaguely of the type of medallion known to the ancients as the *imago clipeata*, only the type merges with British medallion usage (which, even so, seldom presents a subject full-face) and fair knowledge of the Renaissance. Flaxman's father, John Flaxman Senior, was a sculptor and restorer of sculpture into whose hands were given about 1769 the badly damaged terracotta bust by Pietro Torrigiano of Henry VII and those traditionally identified as Henry VIII and Bishop Fisher, removed from the Holbein Gate, Whitehall (the first, Victoria and Albert Museum; the second and third, Metropolitan Museum; see Smith 1807, pp. 22–23). The smooth modeling of Torrigiano's busts, with their large blank eyeballs, may well have left an impression on Flaxman Junior.

Flaxman Senior was an expert plaster-caster, and through him Flaxman Junior met Josiah Wedgwood, who hired him to design for his line of Etrurian wares in the years preceding the self-portrait. This work's subtlety and high relief would make it a challenging candidate for



Fig. 19
Flaxman, *Self-portrait*,
1779, ink. London,
University College

ceramic reproduction, but such may have been the original intention. A plaster in the Royal Scottish Academy, a variant of the composition in which the artist looks slightly to his right, may have been contemplated for Wedgwood (Barlaston, Wedgwood Museum) and later full-profile medallions exist in Wedgwood (London 1995, p. 14, pl. 4). It was probably through an introduction effected by Josiah Wedgwood during Flaxman's years in Italy (1787–94) that he met Sir William Hamilton, the British ambassador to Naples and aesthete extraordinaire. If this is Flaxman's "*Portrait of Himself*, a bust in mezzo-relievo, in a circular wooden frame," specified in a 1798 packing list of the Hamilton collection (Deutsch 1943, p. 38), it probably got there as a gift from the artist. In 1793 Hamilton had been instrumental in procuring the commission from Flaxman for the monument to Lord Mansfield in Westminster Abbey, completed in 1801.

The clay, well preserved under the pale gray paint except for a broken collar tip, is quite red. The back retains fingerprints and some lines of scoring.

JDD

4

JOSEPH CHINARD

Lyon, 1756–Lyon, 1813

Self-portrait

Terracotta, 59 × 20 × 18 cm (23¼ × 7⅞ × 7⅞ in.)
Montargis, Musée Girodet (885-74)

PROVENANCE

Juliette Récamier, Paris(?); Alphée Récamier; his gift to the museum, 1885.

EXHIBITIONS

London 1972a, no. 342; Paris 1986b, no. 54, ill.; Lyon 1989–90, no. 33, ill.

REFERENCES

Musée de Montargis 1874, no. 314; Musée de Montargis 1885, no. 293; Musée de Montargis 1937, no. 384; Ledoux-Lebard 1947–48, p. 77; Ledoux-Lebard 1955, p. 308; Rocher-Jauneau 1978, p. 66; Champion 1998, p. 260, no. 548, ill.

In this, one of the most self-possessed self-portraits in all of Neoclassicism, the artist stands in front of a lion. The latter is a virtual signature, being the attribute not only for courage but also, more pertinently, for his native city—he often signed works "Chinard de Lyon." There is no other attribute to hint at his profession. The pose, readable throughout the sturdy mantle, culminates in the hand caught up in folds below the throat. The other hand holds a scroll. Except for the scroll, Chinard's model

was probably the ancient marble *Aeschines*, a Roman copy of a Greek original, unearthed at Herculaneum in 1779 (fig. 20; Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 153–54, no. 10, fig. 79). A visit to Naples was desirable for any artist, and while he is not recorded in the city, he must have gone there during one of his journeys in Italy.

Aeschines was a fourth-century Athenian actor and orator who, in advocating decorum, reminded his hearers in "Against Timarchus" that in bygone days a speaker would never address an audience with his arms outside his cloak but always with one arm withheld, wrapped within the mantle, out of respect for his audience and in a spirit of modesty and self-restraint. The subtext of the statue seems to have been known to a variety of viewers (see A. Meyer 1995 and Fleckner 2000), but it is not certain that Chinard employed the half-hidden arm to indicate the virtues just mentioned. For him it connoted dignity, certainly, but also a sense of impending action, and his knack of challenging authority is not to be discounted in considering this resolute performance. Chaudet used the motif for a brooding commander in his *General Dugommier* at Versailles (after 1794; Hoog 1993, p. 129, no. 521, ill.).

The statuette's ruggedly handsome features, bushy sideburns, and artfully disheveled hair were perhaps preceded by those in a profile medallion formerly in the Penha Longa collection (Tournieux 1909, p. 9, ill.). Rocher-Jauneau (1978, p. 66) reports a 1937 Berlin dissertation by Gunther Schwark who dates the roundel to 1808 in an effort to link the proud countenance with Chinard's abrupt departure from Carrara following financial alterations with the court of Elisa Baciocchi. Gérard Hubert, however, dates the hairstyle to the years of the Revolution, about 1790–95, and indeed the head is that of a man in full vigor, conceivably in his forties rather than his fifties (Hubert in London 1972a, no. 342). Chinard knew how to rub officialdom the wrong way, for that matter, getting himself imprisoned in Rome in 1792 as a firebrand and in Lyon in 1793 as a moderate. If the occasion for the statuette is not known, it is surely relevant that it was given to the Musée Montargis by a relation of Juliette Récamier, the celebrated beauty whose house in the rue Basse in Paris was frequented by Chinard especially around 1800–1802 (Ledoux-Lebard 1947–48). He may well have known her from the time of his return to Paris in 1795. Mme Récamier, married to a banker of Lyonnais origins, like her own, had a plaster of Chinard's *Perseus and Andromeda* and a marble figure of his *Silence*. She was the subject of the portrait bust that is Chinard's most famous work and one imbued with layer upon layer of intimate meaning (numerous examples; see Rocher-Jauneau 1978, pp. 53–54). Despite the *Self-portrait's* defiant air, it may have served mainly to commemorate this important friendship.

Plasters after this model, neither of them preserving the finesse of its modeling, are in the Musée des Beaux-



been Chinard's original intent. These changes were carried over into a summarily sketched marble of larger scale on the art market, which once surmounted Chinard's tomb in the cemetery of Loyasse at Lyon (sale London, Christie's, December 10, 1996, no. 77). The face now has a relatively wan appearance, which may reflect the artist's advancing years, and the hair is decidedly less lively.

Among all these statuettes, the Montargis terracotta stands out for its conviction and scintillating workmanship. The whole is a subtle play of curves against the erect carriage. The wool of the mantle is worked with hatchings and cross-hatchings, to indicate the pulls of gravity and movement, and a diagonal line rising from the proper left knee even gives the semblance of the mantle having been folded. One senses the stretch of material (perhaps kidskin) in the leggings and of leather lacings over the toes. The lion, with vertical hatchings, is contrastingly unnaturalistic, straight-sided like an Egyptian hieroglyphic beast.

The reddish terracotta is covered with a thin buff slip. Underneath is a circular cavity filled with plaster.

JDD

4

Arts, Lyon (Rocher-Jauneau 1978, pp. 66–67) and the Petit Palais, Paris (that formerly in the Penha Longa collection: Tourneux 1909, p. 4). A second terracotta of similar scale in the Bibliothèque Paul Marmottan, Boulogne-Billancourt, is difficult to judge aesthetically because overcleaning and overpaint have given it a disappointing, gravelly surface (unillustrated but see Fleuriot de Longle 1938, pp. 40–41, no. 68). However, certain differences place the Marmottan terracotta in a subsequent phase: the head is positioned more frontally and the bare throat is now enveloped in a shirt collar, which cannot have



Fig. 20
Roman copy of a
Greek original, *Aeschines*,
marble. Naples,
Museo Archeologico
Nazionale

BARTOLOMEO PINELLI

Rome, 1781–Rome, 1835

Self-portrait

Inscribed in front: *Pinelli lui stesso f. Roma 1833*; on the pilaster on which Pinelli rests his elbow: *Tutto / finisce / 1833 / vixit / XXXX*
Terracotta, H. 34 cm (13³/₈ in.)
Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum (N. Sk.1061)

PROVENANCE

Stroganov Museum, Leningrad; acquired by the State Hermitage Museum in 1928

EXHIBITION

Massa 2000, no. 14, ill.

REFERENCE

Kosareva 1994, p. 289, ill.

Bartolomeo Pinelli was a self-promoting loner who liked to stress his “man of the people” origins in the Roman quarter of Trastevere. About the time of this self-portrait, he was working on a set of engravings for *Don Quixote* in which the antihero’s features resemble his own (Rome 1983, p. 323). Indeed self-portraits are a constant in his prints and drawings, but this is the only one we know in terracotta. He had taken up ceramic sculpture as a sideline as early as 1812, usually repeating the rustic themes that recur in his prints. In fig. 22 he draws while resting an elbow on a modeling stand that is occupied by a genre group, showing that he saw the activities as interrelated (the sketch was owned by Bertel Thorvaldsen).

He was invariably accompanied by one or more of his large dogs (in form not unlike the ancient Molossian; see cat. no. 41) and often by a skull (as on the wall bracket in fig. 22) and/or his pessimistic motto *tutto finisce* (everything ends), which occurs here on the wooden post



Fig. 21
Bacchus with a Panther, engraving of ancient marble formerly in the Uffizi, Florence



against which he leans. The coins flung at his feet (by the rich tourists who bought his drawings in great numbers?) presumably proclaim his contempt for material pleasures (Kosareva 1994, p. 289). As in the graphic works, he wears his hair short in back but with long bohemian curls at the sides in front. Gaunt but still muscular, grim but game, he would die only two years after modeling this work, confirming his motto. His age is given in the inscription as forty when he was in fact fifty-two—a show of vanity, perhaps, in keeping with the overall performance.

Despite the rustic flavor in most of his art, Pinelli reveled in a highly sophisticated visual culture. Perhaps he reached back, even if unconsciously, to ancient statuary and a seated Bacchus with a Panther once in the Uffizi, which has suggestive similarities with this composition (the Bacchus has been destroyed but is known from the reversed engraving [fig. 21]; see Mansuelli 1958–61, vol. 1, App., no. 6, pl. 326).



Fig. 22
Pinelli, *Self-portrait*,
about 1830, black
chalk. Copenhagen,
Thorvaldsens
Museum

The surfaces of Pinelli's buff-colored terracottas usually have a fluid look, as here, owing to his habit of working up detail with wet clay at the last minute before firing.

JDD

Sketches, Models, Reductions, and Independent Works

The first three works in this section are formed of unfired clay (cat. nos. 6, 8) or of clay that was lightly fired, that is, at a particularly low temperature (cat. no. 7). These are exceedingly rare evidence of work that would have been commonplace in sculptors' studios but that rarely survived. If Chinard's *Young Harpist* (cat. no. 6), with its highly finished detail, was in all likelihood realized as an independent work, Trippel's *Vestal Virgin* (cat. no. 7) and Canova's *Magdalen* (cat. no. 8) are certainly preparatory sketches for marble sculptures. It is tempting to describe Trippel's *Vestal Virgin* as an *ébauche* or rough draft, since it conveys only the statue's general form, with little detail, evoked in what was no doubt one of the artist's earliest bursts of inspiration. Canova's *Magdalen*, although a bit more elaborated, prompts the same reflection, that it is the "first idea."¹ It was taken up again by the sculptor who realized a model in the round on the same subject (fig. 26), slightly smaller and differing in composition, now anticipating that adopted for the statue, which was probably why it was fired.

Canova drew a lot; the Museo Civico in Bassano del Grappa has most of his drawings which show, together

with his terracotta sketches, the maturation of his works. An example of the process is shown in the studies leading to the *Cupid and Psyche*, the first marble of which is in the Louvre.² A terracotta of entwined nude bodies (cat. no. 9) and two drawn sketches (cat. nos. 10, 11) illustrate quite well Canova's working as a creative spirit toward his idea's development and refinement. Similarly, two terracotta versions of the *Lamentation over the Dead Abel* (cat. nos. 12, 13) allow us to follow Canova's elaboration of a subject and his fascinating hesitations over the positions of Adam and Eve in relation to Abel—which was not realized as a finished marble.

The two *Frileuses* by Houdon present a different case. The statuette from Montpellier (cat. no. 15) resembles the full-size marble statue also in Montpellier and is a preliminary sketch for it. The Louvre statuette (cat. no. 16) is an important variant: it is a nude, whereas both versions in Montpellier are draped, which causes us to regard it as a later reduction.

Having adumbrated a composition by means of rough drafts and preliminary sketches, an artist usually made a terracotta model that could be transcribed to other

materials. Included here are Sergel's sketch and a model of *Othryades*. The sketch (cat. no. 17), brilliantly executed, has a rather battered-looking surface. Sergel evokes the general form of the dying hero but also some details of his anatomy and shield. This was a preparatory sketch for his *morceau d'agrément* for the Académie Royale, a plaster shown at the Salon of 1779. The plaster was subsequently lost, but the large terracotta signed and dated that same year (cat. no. 18) probably reflects it.

Two examples of models for decorative objects, often realized by famous sculptors in the eighteenth century, illustrate the dual theme, sketch vs. model. *The Theft of the Rose* (cat. no. 19) is an extremely rare preparatory sketch for a Sèvres figure group in biscuit by Boizot, which is known through the exceptional series of plaster models in the Royal Manufactory archives at Sèvres. Lecomte's *Project for a Clock* (cat. no. 20) is a model for an object that, to our knowledge, was not realized. The most precise details are carefully indicated, such as the ring of numbers and the serpent's tongue that serves as the minute hand.

Models designed for finished works were often marked with signs to help in their translation, and eventual enlargement, in another medium. They usually consisted of reference points that the sculptor (or an assistant) would transfer to the marble or stone using a compass and frames fitted with plumb lines (fig. 23).³ Pencil marks are often visible on plaster models, such as those by Canova in Possagno, Thorvaldsen in Copenhagen, Bartolini in Florence, and David d'Angers in Angers. On terracottas they would have been painted on or marked in pencil,⁴ but they are less often seen because of erasures in successive "restorations." Their presence on terracottas—the red dots recently uncovered on Spinazzi's *Faith* (cat. no. 21) and the series of brown crosses and pencil marks on Canova's monumental *Clement XIV* (fig. 160)—is of great interest. Transfer marks are seen somewhat more frequently on models intended for architecture, incised in the clay to provide a scale of measurement (the base of Dumont's *Colbert* [cat. no. 22] is one example among many of this practice⁵). In some cases, unusual in France but more common in Germany, the figures were squared for enlargement using lines incised in the clay.⁶

This section ends with independent sculptures. Neither sketches nor models nor reductions of other sculptures, they were created as autonomous works. These include brilliant stylistic exercises, such as the powerful heads by Pajou (cat. no. 23) and Roland (cat. nos. 24, 25), and refined works of moderate scale (cat. nos. 26–30), meant for the period's many enthusiastic collectors of terracottas.

GS

1. Fernando Mazzocca in Venice and Possagno 1992, p. 163.
2. See Leroy-Jay Lemaistre 2003.
3. This process is described by Étienne-Maurice Falconet in *Notes sur le XXXV Livre de Pline*, in Falconet 1808, vol. 1, p. 409.
4. For example, the squaring marks on a seventeenth-century model now in the Louvre. See Gilles Guérin in *Musée du Louvre* 1998, vol. 2, p. 412, ill.
5. Among these are two small models by Roman Anton Boos, *Saints Peter and Paul*, for reliefs on the side portals of the church of the Theatines in Munich (1767, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich; see Volk 1980, pp. 116–17, figs. 105, 106); and those by Augustin Pajou for the dining room of the château de Bellevue (1773, Musée Lambinet, Versailles; see Paris and New York 1997–98, nos. 49, 50, ill.).
6. For example, the group of sketches by Johann Peter Wagner in the Mainfränkisches Museum, Würzburg (see Trensche 1987, pp. 103–263) and small models of Kneeling Angels for the marble statues on the high altar of the cathedral of Nantes, signed and dated 1779 by the Franconian Sebastian Leysner (terracottas in the Musée des Beaux-Arts of Angers; see Papet 1996, p. 68, ill.).

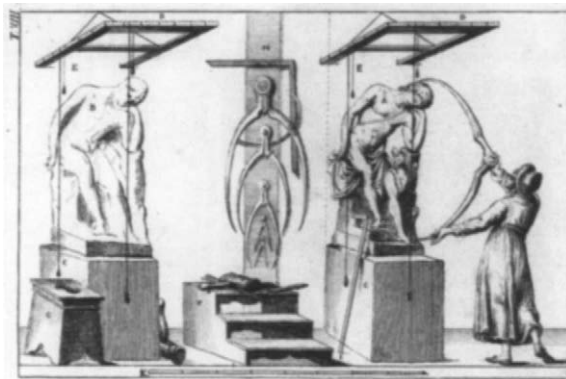


Fig. 23
Transfer of Measurements, plate VIII of Francesco Carradori's *Istruzioni elementare per gli studiosi della scultura*, 1802

Terracottas and Unfired Clay Works



6

JOSEPH CHINARD

Lyon, 1756–Lyon, 1813

Young Harpist

Unfired clay, 28 × 25 × 12 cm (11 × 9⁷/₈ × 4³/₄ in.)
Paris, Musée du Louvre (RF 1503)

PROVENANCE

M. de Vrégille, heir to the artist's studio; acquired from
M. Parguez-Perdreau in 1910

REFERENCES

Benoist 1928 (1994 ed.), p. 191; Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 1,
p. 143, ill.

In 1910 the Louvre acquired three sculptures in unfired clay that had come directly from Chinard's studio: *Young Harpist*; *Young Woman Leaning on a Cippus* (RF 1505); a project for a clock; and the sketch for a monument to Desaix (RF 1506). Clay models of this kind were common in sculptors' studios; unfired, they were condemned to disappear or to be molded in plaster in order to preserve a memory of them, like almost all the models of Flaxman or Thorvaldsen. They are indeed extremely fragile since

the clay is not solidified by firing. In the present example, apart from breaks that could be mended, the statuette has lost its arms and fragments of the harp, as well as the upper part of the back of the stool, elements extraneous to the main body of the work that were particularly vulnerable. The clay has been coated with a layer of beige.

Nothing is known of Chinard's intentions when he modeled this delicate *Young Harpist*. It may have been a portrait, or it may have been an imaginary figure. The work is one of great refinement and suggests an intimate evocation similar to certain paintings by Boilly. For Luc Benoist this woman musician "in an Empire dress" (pleated and belted high under the bosom), with her head of curls, forms "the liaison between the old style and our Romantic art." Chinard has carefully erased any too obvious traces of the modeling process, eliminating false steps and tool marks, in order to enhance the elegant play of the dress's folds (especially at the back), whose curves contrast with the verticality of the instrument.

GS

7

ALEXANDER TRIPPEL

Schaffhausen, 1744–Rome, 1793

Vestal at an Altar

Low-fired clay, 26.5 × 12 × 6.5 cm (10³/₈ × 4³/₄ × 2¹/₂ in.)
Basel, Historisches Museum Basel (1961.473.)

PROVENANCE

Bequest of Gertrud Riggenbach, Basel, 1961

EXHIBITION

Basel 1995–96, unnumbered (see essay by Dieter Ulrich in the catalogue, pp. 150–53, ill.)



Fig. 24
Trippel, *Vestal
Tending the Eternal
Flame*, 1781, marble.
Dresden, Staatliche
Kunstsammlungen
Albertinum

The Vestal Virgin, an attendant at the altar of Vesta, the Roman goddess of the hearth and home, was long a mainstay of European sculpture as well as of painting and drama (see Steland 1994). In this snippet of a sketch, the Swiss-born Alexander Trippel feels his way toward his marble *Vestal Tending the Eternal Flame*, signed and dated "Rome, 1781" (fig. 24). Intended for Trippel's Maecenas, Johann Rudolf Burckhardt, the figure was to occupy an altarlike position in a secular chapel, inspired by Freemasonry, in Burckhardt's grand Basel home (see Roda in Basel 1995–96, pp. 122–23). Trippel had already made statuettes of Bacchus and a bacchante for Burckhardt. But in Rome, away from his patron, he changed his mind about the destination of the Vestal.



Hoping for a professorship at the Akademie in Dresden and angling for the recently vacated position of court sculptor there, he sent the statue to Dresden. It was liked, but he had outsmarted himself, getting paid less than half of what he expected and failing to get a post.

In the model a single figure is briskly incised on the altar. The marble's altar has Sincerity and Friendship joining hands. The model's sideward movement and slim deftness were replaced by a more solemn frontality and Junoesque proportions more in keeping with the subject's dignity and compatible with Trippel's own sturdy, even stolid Neoclassical habits. Having traveled a great deal in his youth, he spent some time in Copenhagen and remained permanently influenced thereafter by his studies with the Danish sculptor Johannes Wiedewelt; it was through Wiedewelt that he embraced and passed on the Neoclassical tenets of the art historian Johann Joachim Winckelmann.

The tan clay was fired at less than 400 degrees centigrade. Damages have occurred, particularly in the arms. The granular, even pebbly appearance of the surface is normal for Trippel's models (see Schaffhausen 1993, nos. 10, 15, and p. 101, fig. 15.4). JDD

8

ANTONIO CANOVA

Possagno, 1757–Venice, 1822

Penitent Magdalen

Unfired clay, 22 × 19 × 19 cm (8½ × 7½ × 7½ in.)
Venice, Museo Correr (CL. XXVII. 119)

PROVENANCE

Presumed gift of Giovanni Battista Sartori Canova, the artist's half brother, to Giovanni Zardo Fantolin, about 1823; Domenico Zoppetti; his bequest to the museum in 1849

EXHIBITIONS

Treviso 1957 (not in catalogue); London 1972a, no. 315; Venice 1978, no. 113; Venice and Possagno 1992, no. 80, ill.

REFERENCES

Mariacher 1964, pp. 194–95, ill.; Pavanetto 1976, p. 101, no. 99, ill.; Boggero 1980, pp. 386–88; Botto 1984, p. 209; Stefani 1992, pp. 142–46, ill.; Stefani 1999, pp. 242–44, ill.; Houston and London 2001–2, no. 80, ill. (not exhibited)

Canova was captivated by the challenge of representing saints haunted by the flesh. Throughout his sketchbooks, the reformed sinner Saint Mary Magdalen recurs, kneeling before the cross or dying, often on the same page with Saint Jerome. On one leaf are scenes of both expiring in the arms of angels (Ost 1970, pp. 51–52, fol. 12a), but usually they are shown alone, in penitence. The

Magdalen closest in form to this sketch-model is in a drawing in Cagli, in which she kneels before the cross facing a vignette of Jerome reading (Ost 1970, p. 51, no. 8a, ill.), drawn near the same time as a leaf in Bassano, where she is schematically noted below a sprawling Jerome (fig. 25; Bassi 1959, p. 130, no. E.b. 42.1053). We illustrate the latter because of the intense fervor it transmits. Jerome's extreme expressivity could hardly be matched in any other medium, even clay, and it is not surprising that Canova made no sculptural version of him.

The present *Magdalen* with bowed back and long rounded arms clasped before an (imaginary) crucifix was followed by a terracotta in Bassano (fig. 26), in which the arms are less exaggerated and slightly opened as if to support a crucifix that would lie across them. The modeling is now finer, the clay more deeply incised. Two marbles resulted from this campaign of drawing and modeling. The statue now in Genoa (fig. 27) is dated 1796. Through the agency of Francesco Milizia, it was to have been bought by Monsignor Giovanni Priuli, but after the latter accompanied Pius VI into exile it came into the possession of Juliot, a French commissary in Rome, who took it to Paris and sold it to the enterprising collector Count Giovanni Battista Sommariva. The second marble, executed between 1805 and 1809 for Empress Josephine's son Eugène de Beauharnais, passed with the Leuchtenberg collections to the Hermitage (see Pavanetto 1976, pp. 101, 117, nos. 87, 198, ill.; Boggero 1980; Venice and Possagno 1992, nos. 125, 126, ill.). The composition of the two marbles adheres to the normative proportions of the Bassano bozzetto, except that the hands are farther apart to sustain the metal crucifix which she contemplates (missing from the Hermitage marble).

Clay perfectly expresses the subject's abjectness, much as in Clodion's two terracottas of the subject, where the Magdalen is both literally and metaphorically mired in shame and degradation (modeled in Rome in 1767 and 1768; Paris 1992a, nos. 11, 12, ill.). In our model Canova does not require the attributes of skull and Bible that Clodion supplied to register the Magdalen's remorse and her waxing faith (although the Bassano bozzetto and both marbles have skulls). At this point her grief-stricken head is fixated by the as-yet-absent crucifix which we must imagine placed on the ground just beyond her hands. The two great illustrations of the Penitent Magdalen in Roman painting were those by Pompeo Batoni (destroyed, formerly Dresden; Clark 1985, fig. 56) and by Anton Raphael Mengs (private collection; Padua and Dresden 2001, no. 57, ill.). Clodion mixed elements of both in his horizontal format. Canova on the other hand seems to recall only the clasped hands of the Batoni and the shapely arms of the Mengs. Even when Canova is modeling as summarily as here, one is aware not merely that humble logs of clay serve for the arms but also that they are magically invested with a semblance of palpitation. He favors the saint's proper



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Fig. 25
Canova, *Penitent Magdalen, Saint Jerome Reading in the Desert, and a Seated Prophet*, about 1793–94, black chalk. Bassano del Grappa, Museo Civico



Fig. 26
Canova, *Penitent Magdalen*, about 1793–94, terracotta. Bassano del Grappa, Museo Civico



Fig. 27
Canova, *Penitent Magdalen*, 1794–96, marble. Genoa, Museo di Sant'Agostino

right side; her left simply leans against an inchoate pile of clay vaguely resembling a stump.

It has been observed that the head was originally “modeled separately, and then attached, once its position had been determined” (Houston and London 2001–2, p. 268). The clay, buff to gray in color, is roughly faceted by a variety of touches, including fingerprints.

JDD

Sketches and Models

9

ANTONIO CANOVA

Rome, 1757–Venice, 1822

Struggling Nude Couple

Terracotta, 26 × 42 × 28 cm (10¼ × 16½ × 11 in.)
Venice, Museo Correr (342)

PROVENANCE

Given by Giovanni Battista Sartori Canova, the artist’s half brother, to Giovanni Zardo Fantolin, about 1823; Domenico Zoppetti, by 1847; his bequest to the museum in 1849

EXHIBITIONS

Treviso 1957, p. 120, ill.; Rome 1959, no. 128; London 1959, no. 878; London 1972a, no. 308; Venice 1978, no. 112, ill.; Venice and Possagno 1992, no. 79, ill.; Philadelphia and Houston 2000, no. 112, ill.; Houston and London 2001–2, no. 75, ill.

REFERENCES

Hubert 1964, p. 73 n. 3; Mariacher 1964, p. 190, ill.; Pavanello 1976, p. 98, no. 66, ill.; Licht 1983, pp. 231–32, ill.; Barbieri 1990, pp. 68–69, ill.; Stefani 1999, pp. 61–64, ill.

Vigorously raked all over by a toothed modeling tool, this is a brilliant and memorable example of Canova’s incisive inventiveness. Unwinged, with the female assuming the role of aggressor and the male seeming to protest and resist, these interlaced figures are not the usual Cupid and Psyche. They might more plausibly be mythological characters to whom the contrary movements and inversion of roles would be more appropriate—Byblis and Caunus or Daphnis and Chloe, for example—but compositionally the two are inextricably involved in the evolution of the marble masterpiece of Canova’s early maturity on the theme of Cupid and Psyche (fig. 28).

In 1787, worn out by his labors on the tomb of Clement XIV in SS. Apostoli, Rome, Canova went for a month to Naples (Canova 1994, p. 304). There Colonel John

Campbell (later first Baron Cawdor) commissioned a Cupid and Psyche from him. By that summer he had prepared two full-size models in plaster (Canova 1994, p. 188). The marble, which he began roughing out the following year, was ready in 1793. Partly prepaid, its arrival was anticipated in England in 1794. For whatever reason—uncertainties of shipping in disputed waters?—Canova kept the marble himself, selling it in 1800 to a Dutchman, “Enrico Hoppe.” It was then resold to Napoleon’s brother-in-law Joachim Murat, and Napoleon admired it at Villiers-la-Garenne, Murat’s château. Taken by Napoleon to Compiègne, it remained there until the restored monarchy sent it to the Louvre (Giuseppe Pavanello reports these various details in Venice and Possagno 1992, no. 122, citing documents in the Carteggio Canoviano, Biblioteca Civica, Bassano).

Pavanello also records a letter of December 12, 1801, from Canova to his friend the omnivorous art-lover, Quatremère de Quincy (who nevertheless failed to appreciate *Cupid and Psyche*), in which the sculptor describes the marble as “Cupid and Psyche embracing; a dramatic moment taken from Apuleius’s tale of the Golden Ass.”

Fig. 28

Canova, *Cupid and Psyche or Psyche Awakened by Cupid’s Kiss*, finished in 1793, marble.
Paris, Musée du Louvre



Fig. 29
Canova,
*Struggling
Nude Couple*,
1787, terracotta.
Possagno,
Gipsoteca
Canoviana





9

Fig. 30
Filippo Morghen,
*Satyr Embracing
a Bacchante*, engraving
after a fresco found at
Herculaneum, now
in Naples, Museo
Archeologico Nazionale,
from *Le Antichità di
Ercolano* (Rome,
1757–62), vol. 1, pl. 15



The reference is to the second-century Lucius Apuleius and his *Metamorphoses*, later called *The Golden Ass*, the fullest ancient exposition of the myth of Cupid and Psyche. In his autobiographical sketch of 1804–5 Canova repeated this derivation from Apuleius (Canova 1994, p. 304). In fact he did not retell the narrative exactly; he selects as he pleases, bringing his own equal poetry to the composition. The gentle mound on which the action unfolds is the site of Psyche's abandonment in *The Golden Ass* (4.34). In this early source their lovemaking took place before dawn in bed in Cupid's palace (5.4). Never mind: the artist supplies the marble with the god's quiver and his lover's jar in a nod toward narrative, but his paramount concern is the construction of a perfect nocturne. Almost inevitably, he will have done so after dipping into another source which amplified Apuleius, a grand mood piece read throughout Europe long after its

publication: Jean de La Fontaine's *Les amours de Psyché et de Cupidon* (1669).

The present model probably represents one of the earliest compositional stages toward the marble (and eventually the second marble, a copy made with minor variations for Prince Yousouppoff and now in the Hermitage). Bassi knew a bozzetto similar to the present one in the Ruffo collection, Florence (Bassi 1957, p. 75). The next stages in Canova's search for the composition are represented by a terracotta in Possagno (fig. 29) and a brusque drawing (cat. no. 10), in both of which the male is the dominant partner. In the drawings the sculptor is interested in the back of the eventual group. Up to this point Canova could simply have been free-associating on a generically erotic theme, yet progress toward the final design is undeniably evident. The just-mentioned drawing is inflected by the ancient Herculaneum fresco of *Satyr Embracing a Bacchante* (as recognized early on by Fernow 1806, p. 89), from which Canova borrowed the motif of the compliant girl's upraised arms. Canova knew either the fresco itself, from a visit to Naples, or Morghen's engraving of it (fig. 30). The derivation is certain, because the contours rather stridently occupy another sheet in Bassano (Bassi 1959, p. 162, no. E.b. 172.1183, ill., p. 161; see Lang in Carouge and Zurich 1994, pp. 84–87). Other drawings and models may have preceded the drawing (cat. no. 11) in which the marble's overall design is quickly but finally frontally enunciated, wings, drapery, and all.

The present bozzetto's Baroque nature has been much commented upon, as has that of the marble which Fernow, disapprovingly invoking the image of a windmill to describe the limbs, found flavored more by Bernini than by the antique (Fernow 1806, pp. 90–91), as if Canova were lapsing into a sort of Late Baroque or Rococo pictorialism. Indeed both model and marble have an anticlassical kinetic aspect, as the bewitching forms rise and fall, forcing the witness to assume myriad viewpoints. The model in particular is worked up in angular peaks of clay that invite active participation in the viewing experience. Relative to it, the marble is languid.

One practical sign of the master's commitment to classical usage has gone unmentioned: he fashioned two rough little columnar pillows of clay and inserted them under the male's back and his raised leg, providing supports for the model's masses, much as antiquity sanctioned the use of struts projecting from areas of marble statuary, which were meant to relieve the stone of their weight. Thus he was already considering eventual challenges to his science as a carver. The clay, of a warm and pleasant tan, has several kiln cracks.

JDD

ANTONIO CANOVA

Rome, 1757–Venice, 1822

Cupid and Psyche

Black chalk on paper, 23.9 × 34.8 cm (9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)
Bassano del Grappa, Museo Civico (Eb 29.1040)

PROVENANCE

The artist's atelier, Rome; bequest of Giovanni Battista Sartori
Canova, the artist's half brother, 1851

EXHIBITIONS

Florence 1952, no. 1; Venice 1956, no. 111; Bassano 1957, no. 9, ill.; Bregenz and Vienna 1968–69, no. 144a, ill.; Copenhagen 1969, no. 49, ill.; Milan 1982, no. 130a, ill.; Venice and Possagno 1992, no. 49, ill.; Carouge and Zurich 1994, no. 17, ill.; Philadelphia and Houston 2000, no. 112, ill.; Saint Petersburg 2001–2, p. 211, no. 69, ill.; Houston and London 2001–2, no. 77, ill. (exhibited in London only)

REFERENCES

Bassi 1943, pl. 30a; Ragghianti 1957, p. 88; Bassi 1959, p. 124, no. E.b.29.1040, ill.; Pavanello 1976, p. 68, ill.; Licht 1983, p. 164, ill.; Barbieri 1990, pp. 68–69, ill.; Stefani 1999, pp. 61, 62, ill.; Busch 2001, p. 41, ill.

Paris only

Here, at top speed, Canova seizes the essentials of the group as it will appear from the front in stone. Both figures are winged (Psyche's lobate wing is indicated in front of Cupid's legs). Psyche has lost her wings in the Louvre (fig. 28) and Hermitage marbles but regained them in the large pointed plaster in the Metropolitan Museum (Pavanello 1976, p. 100, no. 85, ill.) that is thought to be the working model for the Hermitage group. Pavanello (in Saint Petersburg 2001–2, p. 211) proposes that this sketch is earlier and relates to the two plasters made prior to the Louvre group, since lost but mentioned by Canova in his account book under 1787 (Canova 1994, p. 188).

The verso has a compositional study said to be for a scene of Briseis delivered to the heralds as well as a tiny sketch of Venus crowning Mars.

JDD



10



11

11

ANTONIO CANOVA

Rome, 1757–Venice, 1822

Embracing Couple, Study for Cupid and Psyche

Red chalk on paper, 25.3 × 36 cm (10 × 14 1/8 in.)
Bassano del Grappa, Museo Civico (Eb 105.1116)

PROVENANCE

The artist's atelier, Rome; bequest of Giovanni Battista Sartori Canova, the artist's half brother, 1851

EXHIBITION

Milan 1982, no. 141

REFERENCES

Bassi 1959, p. 141, no. E.b. 105.1116, ill.; Pavanello 1976, p. 98, ill.; Mellini 1984, p. 4, ill.; Barbieri 1990, pp. 68–69, ill.; Stefani 1999, p. 62, ill.; Saint Petersburg 2001–2, p. 15, ill.

Paris only

Canova drew as obsessively as he modeled. At times the two actions must have been practically simultaneous. Advancing beyond the Correr terracotta (cat. no. 9), this sketch shows the intensity of his research for the back of the interlaced *Cupid and Psyche* (fig. 28). He was probably already thinking of that subject but here omits the male figure's wings, concentrating on the movement of limbs. The male is coiled much like the faun in a fresco from Herculaneum (fig. 30), and the female responds with upraised arms. The base is now more like a bed than a mere hillock, and Canova crisply reshapes it along narrower lines.

The drawing occurs at the bottom of a page of writing that mentions "Ajes," probably the painter Francesco Hayez.

JDD

12, 13

ANTONIO CANOVA

Rome, 1757–Venice, 1822

Lamentation over the Dead Abel

Terracotta, cat. no. 12: 17 × 31 × 17 cm (6 3/4 × 12 1/4 × 6 3/4 in.) and
cat. no. 13: 20 × 36 × 18 cm (7 7/8 × 14 1/8 × 7 1/8 in.)
Vatican City, Musei Vaticani (44451 and 44452)

PROVENANCE

Cardinal Placido Zurla; his bequest in 1834 to Pope Gregory XVI; his gift to the Pontificio Seminario Romano Maggiore, Rome; thence to the Musei Vaticani

EXHIBITIONS

Rome 1951–52, nos. 19, 21; Venice and Possagno 1992, nos. 90, 91, ill.

REFERENCES

Biondi and Betti 1833; Fallani 1957, pp. 134–36, ill.; Pavanello 1976, p. 133, nos. 356, 357, ill.; Mariuz and Pavanello 1994, pp. 341–43, ill.

The Book of Genesis does not recount the reactions of Adam and Eve to their son Cain's slaying of his brother, Abel. However, the theme of the first family's desolation entered into Renaissance and Baroque painting and thence into literature as a counterpart to the Lamentation over the Dead Christ (Pigler 1974, vol. 1, pp. 23–24). The source for Antonio Canova was Salomon Gessner's *Der Tod Abels* (1758), a plangent pastoral that reached a wide audience (and was reworked by other writers, among them Gabriel Legouvé in his stark tragedy *La mort d'Abel*, 1793, and Vittorio Alfieri [died 1803] in his posthumous *traumelologia, Abele*). Canova omits the first daughters, Thirza and Mahala, from Gessner's account and concentrates on the parents. The significant passage is "the afflicted father laid [Abel's corpse] on the grass, and was supporting in his arms his fainting wife, who, weakened by grief, was near falling to the earth" (Gessner, *The Death of Abel*, trans. Mary Collyer [London, 1818], p. 96).

Although no marble resulted from Canova's numerous terracottas and drawings on the subject, he did have in mind a heroic marble group of epic size. On December 6, 1808, Cardinal Joseph Fesch wrote to Canova in the hope of obtaining a replica of the artist's statue of Madame Mère (cat. no. 47), the cardinal's sister, adding "that will not prevent you from busying yourself with some sacred subject; or after having made your projected group on the Death of Abel, you could make me a repetition of lesser size, that is to say, lifesize" (Mariuz and Pavanello 1994, pp. 341–42, 351 n. 32).

Mariuz and Pavanello discuss the gestation of the

group in the two present models and one in Possagno (fig. 31) as well as in drawings of which six are extant. The changes to each group are psychological as well as compositional. Mariuz and Pavanello see the sequence of the models as starting with cat. no. 12, followed by the Possagno model, then cat. no. 13. Each has at least one close counterpart among the drawn sketches. Cat. no. 12, in which Eve cradles Abel in her lap while Adam leans into the composition, is matched by a drawing in Bassano (fig. 32; Mariuz and Pavanello 1994, p. 347, fig. 53). In that drawing, the expression of Adam (whose head in the model is broken) is like a Greek tragic mask. Also from this early phase is a looser drawing in a Venetian private collection (Mariuz and Pavanello 1994, p. 345, fig. 51). A drawing in Bassano and two sketches on the same sheet in a Milanese private collection relate most nearly to cat. no. 13, in which Abel expires in Adam's lap instead of Eve's (Mariuz and Pavanello 1994, pp. 342, 344, figs. 49, 50). It is somewhat hard to see the Possagno model (fig. 31) and the drawing related to it (the one introduced by Gonzalez-Palacios 1972, p. 165, fig. 6) coming after the works just mentioned. The passionate asymmetry, late Baroque in feeling, in this phase of the composition derives from Canova's reminiscences of the antique, especially the *Pasquino* in the Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence, often interpreted as Menelaus carrying the body of the dead Patroclus (Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 291–96, no. 72, figs. 153–55). The lateral movement makes this phase the least Canova-like. In any case, Canova rejected it, in the same way that he renounced the more sideward model for the *Three Graces* (fig. 62).

The most successful, and therefore most likely the latest, solution is cat. no. 13, in which the low composition echoes the figures' abasement. Canova experimented with this dolorous moundlike format in a drawing in Bassano (Mariuz and Pavanello 1994, p. 342, fig. 49). In both the Possagno model and cat. no. 13, he interjects the



Fig. 31
Canova, *Lamentation over the Dead Abel*,
about 1804–5, terracotta. Possagno,
Gipsoteca Canoviana



Fig. 32
Canova, *Lamentation over the Dead Abel*,
about 1804–5, graphite. Bassano del Grappa,
Museo Civico



Fig. 33
Canova, *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*,
1821, terracotta. Possagno, Gipsoteca
Canoviana



12

13



head of the *Laocoon* (fig. 55) to suggest Adam's grief. The variety of approaches attests his remarkable powers of invention and his ability to return to a subject over several years, at least from 1804–5 (the date given by Mariuz and Pavanello to the sheets of the dismembered Canal notebook) to 1808 (Fesch's letter).

Even though his ideas for the Abel subject remained on a small scale, as Mariuz and Pavanello point out (1994, p. 343), Canova reverted to cat. no. 13 in all its essentials when composing a grand Lamentation intended for the Church of Saint-Sulpice in Paris, but now known in the form of the full-scale plaster in Possagno, dated 1821 (fig. 33; Pavanello 1976, pp. 132–33, no. 352, ill.).

Technical features suggest that cat. nos. 12 and 13 did not result from the same campaign of modeling. For cat. no. 12, Canova worked the clay directly on wood, the impression of the grain being visible underneath. He scooped out a sizable mass of the clay in back, creating a convenient handhole for lifting the piece. The clay is a pinky buff that came out redder in places during the firing. Both works have plaster intrusions, suggesting molds were taken from them. Cat. no. 13, considerably larger, is pinkish tending to gray in many areas. Its back has a summary sweep one might almost call Art Nouveau. Old breakage includes an arc across the front of the base that has been replaced with plaster.

JDD

ANTONIO CANOVA

Rome, 1757–Venice, 1822

Venus and Cupid

Terracotta, 26 × 50 × 18 cm (10¼ × 19¾ × 7⅞ in.)
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1993.170)

PROVENANCE

Purchased in Paris from the Wrightsman Fund, 1993

REFERENCES

Draper 1993, ill.; Draper in "Recent Acquisitions" 1994, p. 40, ill.

New York only

This group is more closely related to Canova's paintings than to his sculpture. Escaping from the "fearful effects of the Revolution" that were then afflicting Rome (Canova 1994, p. 310), he spent much of the years 1797–98 with his family in Possagno, there taking time out to paint several of the canvases that were a delightful sideline of his. They include a half-length squarish picture of *Venus and Cupid* (fig. 34; Pavanello 1976, p. 138, no. D23, ill.). Although her legs are cut off, Venus is posed on a couch, embracing her son who returns her hug, and gazes directly at the witness of this tender moment, more or less as here. Softly brushed, the paintings have the look of Pompeian frescoes with accents from his beloved Titian. The present model, which I presume precedes the painting, is rather larger and perhaps a bit more ponderously studied than usual for Canova. Admittedly his clay models are generally handled more loosely, but they do offer abundant precedents for the choppy play of the modeling tool over flesh and cloth, the sluggish rhythms of Venus's long limbs, and her huge feet. These traits occur strikingly in the studies leading up to *Cupid and Psyche* (cat. no. 10) and in models for the *Penitent Magdalen* (cat. no. 8 and fig. 25) and one for *Charity*. This last has the same preliminary relationship to a painting as the present work, only babies have been added to the canvas, which is signed and dated "A. Canova Sc. 1799" (Pavanello 1976, pp. 104, 138, nos. 111, D27, ill.).

In all fairness, it must be said that Hugh Honour and Giuseppe Pavanello are unconvinced by the Canova attribution (letter from Honour to James Draper, October 6, 1993). We resubmit the case in the interest of opening up the question—adding only that we know as yet no imitator of his modeling style capable of incorporating so instinctively such personal Canova tics as the curved slumped back, looping limbs, and long feet.

The slightly reddish buff clay, with firing cracks visible especially underneath, has been extensively touched up with plaster additions painted to match the terracotta in



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the areas of the front left corner of the bed, the mattress, the foot of the bed with paint extending over Venus's proper left foot, and Cupid's wings. Venus's hair is overpainted, possibly covering damages there.

JDD

15, 16

JEAN-ANTOINE HOUDON

Versailles, 1741–Paris, 1828

15

Winter, known as La Frileuse

Terracotta, 19 × 6 × 5 cm (7½ × 2¾ × 2 in.)
Montpellier, Musée Fabre (95.6.1)

PROVENANCE

Anonymous sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, March 11–12, 1912, no. 168, ill.; Guillaume de Contaut-Biron, marquis de Biron (1859–1939), before his sale in 1914; Marius Paulme, before 1922; his sale, Paris, May 15, 1929, no. 328, ill.; Paris, coll. Schoeller; Paris, George Haviland; his sale, Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, June 2–3, 1932, no. 239, ill.; Marcel Haentjens, before 1934; sale, Paris, Palais Galliera, June 10, 1970, no. 209, ill.; sale, Paris, Hôtel George V, March 27, 1995, no. 428, ill.; bought by the museum at this sale

EXHIBITIONS

Versailles 1928, no. 72; Paris 1928, no. 81; Paris 1934, no. 141

REFERENCES

Vitry 1907, p. 206, no. 93; Réau 1922, p. 381; Giacometti 1929, vol. 2, ill. p. 206; Réau 1936, pp. 19–20; Réau 1964, vol. 2, p. 14, no. 10; Scherf in Washington, Los Angeles, and Versailles 2003–4, pp. 225, 233, ill., p. 229, fig. 1



Fig. 34
Canova, *Venus and Cupid*, about 1798–99, oil on canvas.
Possagno, Gipsoteca Canoviana



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REFERENCES

Pradel 1946, pp. 12–13, ill.; Réau 1964, vol. 1, p. 242, vol. 2, p. 14, no. 10; Arnason 1975, p. 68; Leroy-Jay Lemaistre 1992, pp. 46–47, ill.; Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 2, p. 429, ill.; Scherf in Washington, Los Angeles, and Versailles 2003–4, pp. 229, 234, ill.

Houdon's autograph list of his works, drawn up about 1784, contains the following entry under the year 1781: "model of a *frileuse* [woman susceptible to cold] representing winter, to be executed in marble four *pieds* in height." The marble (fig. 35) was displayed in the sculptor's studio at the time of the Salon of 1783: "A young girl in marble, lifesize, expressive of the cold, called the Frileuse. She is in the sculptor's studio in the Bibliothèque du Roi." This statue (also known as *L'Hiver*, or *Winter*) had been commissioned by Anne-Charles Modenx de Saint-Wast, a royal adviser and government official, and was given with its pendant *L'Été* (*Summer*), to the Musée Fabre, Montpellier, in 1828. Houdon wished to exhibit the small-scale versions of his two statues at the Salon of 1785. They were rejected, however, by the jury that selected the works by artists who were not officers of the Académie, for violating guidelines for decorum established by the director of the Bâtiments du Roi, the comte d'Angiviller, and the director of the Académie, Jean-Baptiste Pierre. Pierre had written to the comte on August 9, 1785: "Tomorrow the pieces to be admitted to the Salon will be assessed. Two small figures by M. Houdon, half lifesize, have been submitted: one, which is draped, is not marvelous; the other might well not pass because of its style of nudity. A completely naked figure is not as indecent as those that are draped with false modesty" (Furcy-Raynaud 1906, p. 126). It was not until the Salon of 1791, open to all artists, that Houdon was able to show the bronze of his *Frileuse* (dated 1787, bought by the duc d'Orléans, now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). Critics commented wryly on his composition: "M. Houdon

16

Winter, known as *La Frileuse*

Terracotta, 27.4 × 8.5 × 8.5 cm (10¾ × 3⅜ × 3⅜ in.)
Inscribed underneath the base, in ink on an old label: *Sculpture / exposée / en. 1793: sous le n° / 124* (Sculpture / exhibited / in 1793: under the no. / 124)
Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Sculptures (RF 2581)

PROVENANCE

Mme Alfred Hachette, before 1928; bought by the museum in 1946

EXHIBITIONS

Paris, Salon of 1793, no. 124, medium unspecified (?); Versailles 1928, no. 70; Duisburg, Karlsruhe, Gotha, and Paris 1989–90, no. 43, ill.



Fig. 35
Houdon, *La Frileuse*, 1783, marble.
Montpellier, Musée Fabre

seems to have simply decided to exercise all his talent on the lovely curve of her lower back. But why is this figure placed in such a way that one can see nothing? In any case it is certain that winter would be a most desirable season if the pretty *frileuses* did not cover themselves otherwise” (commentary printed in *La béquille de Voltaire au Salon*; McWilliam, Schuster, and Wrigley 1991, p. 101, no. 473). At the following Salon of 1793 Houdon showed a *Frileuse*, the medium of which is not given in the *livret*. If it was the one in terracotta that was sold two years later when he disposed of part of the stock in his studio, it was 51 centimeters (20¼ inches) high and probably had the head and shoulders covered with a drapery (Houdon sale, October 8, 1795, no. 92: “The same figure [as no. 91, also in terracotta: ‘A young girl, the head and shoulders covered by a drapery, the rest of the body nude. This attractive piece, known as *La Frileuse*, is 53 *pouces* high,’ [ca. 143.5 cm (56½ in.)], small size. H. 19 *pouces*” [ca. 51.4 cm (20¼ in.)]). At the Salon of the Year X (1802) the presence of a *Frileuse* is noted not in the catalogue but by the *Revue du Salon de l’an X* (p. 147; McWilliam, Schuster, and Wrigley 1991, p. 148, no. 755): “this little woman, who wraps a length of cloth about herself, looks as if she is very cold.” The medium is not specified.

Even in its reduced dimensions the Montpellier terracotta, in all likelihood that of 1781, presents all that is essential to the composition of the marble: the little *frileuse*, nude, is wrapped in a large shawl that also covers her head. She leans against a tree, the statue’s eventual support. At her feet is a bowl of water on which the fine incisions suggesting cracks caused by frost anticipate the cracks in the marble. In the marble version Houdon shortened the fabric on the legs but made the bosom less bare, thus reinforcing the contrast between the nudity of the lower part of the body and the tightly wrapped covering of the shoulders and head.



Fig. 36
Houdon, detail of *Monument to Prince Golitsyn*, 1777, terracotta.
Paris, Musée du Louvre



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The wonderful Montpellier statuette is essential to our understanding of Houdon's art. Indeed, the artist's sketches and small models are extremely rare: those on the shelves of his studio, in the painting by Boilly (Washington, Los Angeles, and Versailles 2003–4, no. 66, ill.), have disappeared (*Tourville, Washington*, and two male statuettes, one of them perhaps *Cicero*); other attributions to him are uncertain (the projects for the *Monument to Rousseau* illustrated in Réau 1964, vol. 2, pl. xxxv, nos. 43, 44; the statuette illustrated in Réau 1964, vol. 2, pl. xxix, no. 34b, is the sketch for the *Duquesne* by Roguier). Among the autograph terracottas known today are the standing *Vestal* (Arnason 1975, fig. 55) and the *Monument to Prince Golitsyn* (fig. 36; Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 2, p. 426, ill.). Another probably is the second *Frileuse* in this catalogue (cat. no. 16). Acquired by the Louvre in 1946, it was said to have been that shown at the Salon of 1793. Larger than the Montpellier figurine, it represents the woman entirely nude, a significant variation, and has a carefully thought-out quality. Pradel (1946, pp. 12–13) stated that the work was exhibited in the Salon of 1793, “a fantasy made into . . . an enduring souvenir.” He noted the “small head inclined to one side in a gesture more knowing than expressive of cold, with slightly coarse features and the coiffure of a revolutionary, with its loose tresses and ringlets.” (Réau [1964, vol. 1, p. 242] also pointed out that the hairstyle was fashionable during the Revolution.)

There is at least one other version of this nude *Frileuse*. A slightly smaller bronze, the figure's lowered head is completely different and is set more deeply into the shoulders; the hands are placed fully on the upper part of the arms; and the legs are attached directly to the tree trunk. This sculpture (H. 26 cm [10¼ in.]; Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 2, p. 433, ill.) was bequeathed to the Louvre in 1881 by Jacques-Édouard Gatteaux and is thought to have been cast after a terracotta sketch in his own collection (Brisbane 1988, no. 40). It is not known when Gatteaux acquired the piece. It may be the “*Frileuse*, small model, bronze” noted in the *procès-verbal* of the sale after Houdon's death on December 15, 1828 (Gandouin and Giacometti n.d., p. 29), which could be analogous with the “little *Frileuse*” in bronze bequeathed by Mme Houdon to her brother in her will of 1815 (Versailles, Bibliothèque Municipale, F 945 [1], item 10). (We have no descriptions and no dimensions for these pieces.) The Gatteaux *Frileuse* appears to disprove a statement in the catalogue of the Sarrazin sale (January 8–9, 1816). There, in the description of a bronze *Frileuse* (no. 122) “nineteen to twenty *pouces* high” (51.3–54 cm [20¾–21¼ in.]), it is said that the “subject was never executed by the author except in two sizes, lifesize and

the present one; all the others have been repudiated by the artist and are nothing but inaccurate copies.” Such a claim cannot, however, be verified.

The nude Gatteaux *Frileuse* had a long line of descendants: the celebrated bronze founder Hébrard distributed bronzes of this type beginning at the end of the nineteenth century, and plaster copies by Medardo Rosso and Maillol are known. Réau (1936, p. 20) preferred it to the Montpellier terracotta: “In her shivering nudity, she seems the incarnation of shame, and it is not impossible that Rodin was inspired by her when he created his superb *Eve after the Fall* for *The Gates of Hell*. Brinckmann (1925, p. 139) had noted Rodin's admiration of this bronze, a point taken up by Rostrup (1973, p. 9): “Houdon had conceived a small rough sketch which is the fruit of one of his most inspired moments. It is as dramatic as an Eve expelled from the earthly Paradise, and if one did not know its author's identity, one might easily attribute it to Rodin, taking it for a first trial of his statue of Eve.”

The handling of the clay in the two statuettes presented here is completely different. The Montpellier piece is a first sketch, rapidly elaborated. The body has been smoothed with a spatula, while the veil is animated by the irregularities in the medium and by scored lines; the elegant forms have great sureness of touch. The modeling of the larger Louvre *Frileuse* is dryer, and the tool marks in the clay are far more visible. The surface has numerous deep, regular cuts, like the hatchings seen in drawings. These evoke the fleshy contours and the tremulousness, but their number and regular appearance are surprising. The same technique is found on the maquette for the *Golitsyn Monument*: the hero's wrist and right hand, the right arm and back of the female figure supporting him, and especially the large drape beneath the sarcophagus are scored with comparable groupings of parallel lines. On the Louvre statuette, however, the small grooves appear thicker and more randomly distributed, aimed at arbitrarily giving a picturesque appearance. These emphatic tool marks, although relatively lighter and less frequent, can also be seen on the Gatteaux bronze; the modeling approach in the two works is the same. Moreover, the sullen, almost naturalistic faces of the two nude *Frileuses* are quite different from the youthful, regular features of the Montpellier *Frileuse* and the marble based on it.

The Montpellier statuette passed through the hands of two eminent connoisseurs of terracotta who put their mark on the milieu of the art market during the first half of the twentieth century: the marquis de Biron, a voracious and discerning collector, and the expert Marius Paulme, a well-known arbiter of taste.

GS

JOHAN TOBIAS SERGEL

Stockholm, 1740–Stockholm, 1814

17

Othryades

Terracotta, 23.5 × 35 × 26 cm (9¼ × 13¾ × 10¼ in.)
 Paris, Musée du Louvre (RF 1786)

PROVENANCE

Livon-Daime collection, sale, Marseille, April 18, 1923, no. 27
 (as by Giraud); acquired by the museum at that sale

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1900, no. 132; Paris 1958, no. 132; Montauban 1989, no. 36,
 ill.; Paris 1989, vol. 1, no. 396, ill.; Stockholm 1990, no. 236, ill.;
 Frankfurt 1999–2000, no. 24, ill.; Paris 2002, no. 19, ill.

REFERENCES

Vitry 1923b, p. 247; Antonsson 1942, p. 280, no. 84, pl. 65;
 Josephson 1956, vol. 1, p. 264, ill.

18

Othryades

Terracotta, 63.2 × 91.5 × 61 cm (25 × 36 × 24 in.)
 Inscribed in Greek on the shield: "To Zeus, Guardian of Trophies"
 Signed: *Sergell f. 1779*
 Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (NM Sk. 454)

PROVENANCE

Artist's estate, 1814; purchase from his heirs, 1815

EXHIBITIONS

Stockholm 1983, no. 243; Stockholm 1990, no. 237, ill.

REFERENCES

Lange 1882, pt. 2; Göthe 1898, pp. 119–23; Brising 1914a, p. 98;
 Brising 1914b, pp. 121–23; Göthe 1921, p. 17; Antonsson 1942,
 pp. 220, 247–58; Josephson 1956, vol 1, pp. 262–265; Novotny 1960,
 p. 215; Grate 1998, pp. 231–32

When Sergel came to Paris in early August 1778, he was well aware of the fame he had won with the marble example of his *Faun*, owned by the baron de Breteuil (Olausson and Scherf 2002, p. 61, fig. 11): "People stand waiting for me, because I had the good fortune in Rome to enjoy a reputation that preceded me, and the position with which His Majesty had the grace to honor me is becoming a cause for jealousy" (letter from Sergel to Jean Eric Rehn, November 23, 1778; archives, Kragholm Manor; copy in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm). Here Sergel refers to members of the Académie de Peinture et de Sculpture, the body to which he intended to apply for admission. According to the artist himself, this happened at the direct request of the Academy's director, Jean-Baptiste Pierre, "who complimented me in all sorts of ways on my *Faun* so that I felt a duty to create a figure to

be accepted into the Academy. Monsieur Roslin, who is fond of his country [being a fellow Swede], backed his proposal in such a way that I was obliged to make a model before departing. I have written to Monsieur Adelcrantz about it" (letter from Sergel to Rehn, September 15, 1778; archives, Bellinga Manor).

Sergel's sense of honor caused him to first ask his benefactor, Baron Carl Frederik Adelcrantz, director of public works, who had watched out to ensure that the artist received the travel fellowship awarded by the Swedish royal palace's building commission for study in Rome. Adelcrantz's response was also positive, and Sergel then set about the task of modeling his *morceau d'agrément*. However, both Pierre and Roslin had to convince Sergel: "I very reluctantly agreed to it, as I know how much harassment you can get in this society, but it wasn't possible to avoid it" (letter from Sergel to Rehn, September 15, 1778). It is not known if the subject was selected by Pierre or by Sergel: "Othryades, leader of the Lacedaemonians, raises a trophy on the battlefield and with his own blood writes to Jupiter, the god of the trophies, on a shield. This subject was taken from Plutarch and translated by Amiot" (letter from Sergel to Rehn, October 26, 1778; archives, Bellinga Manor). In fact this incident was drawn from Herodotus's *Inquiries*: in a war between the Argives and Lacedaemonians, the sole survivor, Othryades, "was ashamed to return to Sparta when all of his comrades at arms had fallen and took his own life on the battlefield of Thyrea." The detail of the inscription on the shield probably came from a later association with Leonidas engraving his motto at Thermopylae (*Paulys Realencyclopädie des classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 36, Stuttgart, 1942, p. 1872).

With his usual incivility toward his French colleagues, he wrote candidly to Rehn: "Allow me to assure you sincerely, between ourselves, that I would be as little pleased by admission into the Académie as I would be disheartened by rejection" (letter from Sergel to Rehn, October 26, 1778). In Sergel's opinion the Académie could neither enhance nor diminish his merits as a sculptor. For him only one outcome was possible: "If justice prevails, I ought to be accepted, [especially] when I compare [my works] with the figures created by those Messieurs in the Académie" (letter from Sergel to Rehn, November 23, 1778).

The artist did, however, have some doubts: "I'm not sure about the outcome. I've tried to produce a proud and noble Lacedaemonian, who shares nothing of the French character," so debased by decline (letter from Sergel to Evert Taube, December 30, 1778; Evert Taube Collection, Löfstad archives, Landsarkivet, Vadstena). Sergel here condemns what he later called "the abominable French manner," marked by decay and exhaustion. Sergel knew that his work would be criticized by exponents of that "decadent French manner" when he approached the Académie as something of an apostle of



17



17 (reverse)

antique art. Perhaps Sergel, convinced of his worth, felt just as “proud and noble” as his hero Othryades, true to the ancient ideals before his forthcoming election for acceptance into the Académie.

Othryades, completed by Sergel on January 1, 1779, was exhibited at the Académie as a plaster cast on January 30. There were several well-known names among the members present—Chardin, Cochin, Houdon, Pigalle, and Pajou. The minutes of the meeting said nothing about differences of opinion, but Roslin gave an account of the discussion to Sergel, who then wrote: “The lively discussions that took place were favorable to me with regard to the difference in style compared with that of the French school” (letter from Sergel to Taube, January 31, 1779; Evert Taube Collection, Löfstad archives, Landsarkivet, Vadstena). Carl August Ehrensward later reported that Sergel, as he expected, was criticized by Pigalle “for his antique taste” (Antonsson 1942, p. 248). The outcome of the discussion favored Sergel, however. Like his hero, he could maintain “Victory is mine.” After the plaster was exhibited at the Salon of 1779, the critics were favorable toward Sergel, although the author of *Mémoires secrets*, anticipating a *morceau de réception* that was never realized, declared that “we will have to see the



18

model made in marble to determine the true merit of this sculptor” (Fort 1999, p. 218).

Count Gustaf Philip Creutz, the Swedish minister in Paris, wrote to the King: “Sergel was accepted into the Académie yesterday, after he exhibited an admirable work there. It’s a group depicting the dying Othryades, executed in the grand manner. It has an elevated character, and the hero’s face is a work of genius. It may be that nothing more beautiful has been produced in modern times. The greatest artists here were astonished and perhaps envious of a talent that overshadowed their own. For all that this work, completed in great haste, is essentially improvised” (letter from Creutz to Gustav III, January 31, 1779; MS F510, Uppsala University Library).

Sergel had worked quickly, completing his sculpture within three months. It was a significant feat, but the subject was not unknown to him. The Othryades terracotta was probably among those that Sergel related that he had brought from Rome and left in Paris (see Sergel,



18 (reverse)

autobiography, in Bjurström 1975, p. 102). However, the analysis of the clay made by the Laboratoire de Recherche des Musées de France indicates that it is not marly, unlike that used by Sergel for the *Centaure Embracing a Bacchante* (cat. no. 73), which was executed in Italy. Ragnar Josephson proposed two possible sources of inspiration: Raphael's Heliocorus in the Vatican *stanze* and for the hero's head the ancient *Dying Alexander* (Florence, Uffizi; Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 134–36, no. 2, fig. 70; Josephson 1956, vol. 1, pp. 263–64). In truth these analogies, although striking, do not mean that Sergel ever relied on mechanical imitation. It is self-evident that he was influenced by antique art, but the elements he found in it were transformed by his own artistic conceptions.

In the small Louvre terracotta (cat. no. 17), the hero does not have the tense energy of the final Stockholm figure (cat. no. 18). The pose is already established in the former. Othryades lies supported by his left hand; with his other he uses a broken blade to write on his shield: "To Zeus, Guardian of Trophies." In the Stockholm figure Sergel raises the hero's upper body to achieve a more concentrated and energetic movement, emphasizing the hero's dying effort. At times, as here, Sergel elongated extremities such as fingers; the anatomically incorrect rendering of the hands only intensifies the mood.

This work constitutes a grandiose pause after his works of the Roman period. Frank and tidy in conception, it has been considered a tragic double to the *Faun*, the masterpiece realized in 1774 for the baron de Breteuil and sent to Paris in 1776 (Göthe 1898, p. 115; marble in the Sinebrychoff Museum, Helsinki).

The Louvre sketch was formed of pinkish beige clay and covered by a fine beige slip, tending to orange in places where it is thicker. A few red spots, applied with pure vermilion, seem to suggest the hero's blood.

The Stockholm work, fired in several parts, seems not to have been cast but modeled, as revealed by X ray (communication of Elisabeth Tibelius). Sergel had taken with him from France the "mold" of his plaster *Othryades* (according to his intentions mentioned in a letter of January 2, 1779; Chennevières 1856, p. 109), from which he took a plaster now in the Royal Academy, Stockholm. He apparently had no plan to realize a marble.

MO/GS

LOUIS-SIMON BOIZOT

Paris, 1743–Paris, 1809

The Theft of the Rose

Terracotta, H. 30.5 cm (12 in.), diam. of base 31 × 21.6 cm (8½ in.)
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1975.312.2)

PROVENANCE

Private collection, England; purchased by the Museum in New York with funds given by the Josephine Bay Paul and C. Michael Paul Foundation, Inc., and the Charles Ulrick and Josephine Bay Foundation, Inc., 1975

EXHIBITION

New York 1976, no. 5, ill.

REFERENCES

Draper 1977, pp. 141–47, fig. 1; Draper 1991–92, pp. 34–35, ill.

Louis-Simon Boizot's work for the Sèvres manufactory's line of figures and groups in biscuit porcelain began in 1773 and lasted through the ancien régime. It often included models on lighthearted amorous themes fashioned, however, with a stately grace akin to the fabrications of painters such as Joseph-Marie Vien. Here a classically draped girl and youth stand at an altar of Cupid, the youth plucking at the girl's garland of roses. It was not the final design: the plaster *surmoulage* adds a figure of Hymen lifting a wreath and substitutes an oblong altar for the cylindrical one (Draper 1977, p. 143, fig. 2). The first record of this composition, *Le Larcin de la rose* (*The Theft of the Rose*, also known as *The Secret Rose*), being fired at the manufactory dates to August 7, 1789 (information from Sèvres archivist Tamara Préaud).

In his capacity as director of sculptural works for Sèvres, Boizot supervised the work of others during his tenure as well as providing his own. Almost all of his surviving models were for Sèvres and are scrupulously finished because they were intended for realization in biscuit. The rare rapid-fire primary model reveals how much ardor can lie beneath even the most vapid concept. The only other true maquette by him known to this writer dates to his pre-Sèvres career: the *Cupid* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts at Lille, a model for his marble statuette in the Louvre, 1772, which prettily if shamelessly adapts Bernini's Villa Borghese *David* (Versailles 2001–2, pp. 75–77). The flickering Lille model like the present one (especially admirable for its pair of fluttering turtledoves on the back) suggests an artist whose spirit was often greater than the subject matter he undertook for Sèvres.

JDD



19



19 (reverse)



20

FÉLIX LECOMTE

Paris, 1737–Paris, 1817

Project for a Clock

Terracotta, 25.4 × 50.8 × 14.6 cm (10 × 20 × 5¾ in.)

Inscribed across both pages of the book held by Faith: *Lecomte i.' et* [?] / *f.it-1792* [Lecomte invenit et fecit-1792]

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1975.312.3)

PROVENANCE

Private collection, France; purchased by the Museum in New York with funds given by the Josephine Bay Paul and C. Michael Paul Foundation Inc., and the Charles Ulrick and Josephine Bay Foundation, Inc.

EXHIBITION

New York 1976, no. 6, ill.

REFERENCE

Draper 1991, p. 96, ill.

Clock cases of bronze and gilt bronze, lavishly bedecked with figures, were a staple of French décor and a mainstay for sculptors from the reign of Louis XV through that of Napoleon. Pajou, Julien, Roland, Delaistre, Boizot, and Lecomte all did terracotta models for clock cases, several of them proudly exhibited at the Salon. A clock's imagery could reflect its owner's nature, from carefree to dignified, as here.

Lecomte had already experimented with pyramidal composition in his 1780 tomb for Abbé Joseph-Marie



Fig. 37

Lecomte, *Religion and the Theological Virtues*, 1788, red chalk. Collection Jeffrey E. Horvitz, on deposit at the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Terray (Nogent-sur-Seine; Bailey 1993, p. 192, fig. 1). A frequent collaborator of the architect Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, he brought some of that visionary's concern for geometry and ordered gravity to bear even on a lesser project such as a clock model.

The year 1792 finds Lecomte revisiting past accomplishments. Faith's veil, short on top and flowing majestically down the sides, recapitulates his 1777 treatment of the Virgin's on the Altar of the Vow in Rouen cathedral (Pessiot 1993, p. 158, fig. 5). He was an old hand at religious allegory and here reverted somewhat to a design of 1788 for the decoration of a pulpit at Koblenz (fig. 37; Tissier 1999, p. 436). In Lecomte's drawing, Religion occupies the center, flanked by Hope and Faith at left and Charity at right. The clock model reduces the virtues to two: Faith with her chalice and text and Charity with two children instead of three for better balance. Between them the serpent (for Time) atop the globe has an arrow for a tongue to indicate the hour on what would be the clockwork's horizontal movement within the sphere.

Without fanfare the allegory upholds traditional values which were hardly in vogue this late in the Revolutionary period. In fact, it was in keeping with Lecomte himself that he clung to the past. Although never particularly favored by the Académie Royale, in 1791 he found himself defending it, serving as Pajou's replacement as treasurer until the Académie was suppressed in 1793. His career thereafter took a downturn, and in his later years he was not lavishly compensated. In a seeming switch, he devoted several of them to penning and illustrating amorous fables (Tissier 1999).

The pinkish buff clay was laid down in broad links, the divisions of which are visible underneath as long irregular spaces. Figures and base are integral and solid; the sphere is hollow. The whole was deftly worked with a modeling tool all over, eliminating almost all fingerprints.

JDD

INNOCENZO SPINAZZI

Rome, 1726–Florence, 1798

Faith

Terracotta, marked with reddish dots, 38.7 × 18 × 8 cm
(15¼ × 7¼ × 3¼ in.)
London, Victoria and Albert Museum (A.5-1949)

PROVENANCE

Purchased in London, 1949

EXHIBITION

Houston and London 2001–2, no. 74, ill.

REFERENCES

Pope-Hennessy 1964, vol. 2, p. 645, no. 683, ill.; Roani Villani 1975, p. 72; Pescarmona 1977, p. 71 n. 7; Nava Cellini 1982, p. 145 n. 23; Pratesi 1993, vol. 1, p. 61, vol. 3, pl. 598; Cogo 1996, pp. 298–300

This working model, with dots for the pointing system, preceded one of Innocenzo Spinazzi's masterpieces: his marble *Faith* in Santa Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi in Florence, commissioned by two members of the Alamanni family who lived in the church's convent and placed there in 1781 (fig. 38). *Faith's* pendant *Penitence* (Pratesi 1993, vol. 3, pl. 597) is in harmony with the main chapel's Baroque décor, but with the *Faith* he struck a distinctly Neoclassical note, novel in Florence at that date. It is generally acknowledged that Spinazzi's *Faith* takes as its point of departure the *Vestal Tuccia* by Antonio Corradini of 1743 in Palazzo Barberini, Rome (Cogo 1996, pp. 296–301, no. 40, ill.), but whereas Corradini's draperies eddy in crosscurrents, Spinazzi is more concerned with making the folds follow and reinforce the figure's contours and sublime contrapposto. The Roman-born Spinazzi knew his classical antiquity as well as Corradini's *Tuccia*; the Medici grand duke employed him chiefly as restorer, and his style surely benefited greatly from close contact with such marbles as the Uffizi's famous *Niobides*, on which he worked.

This model, rudimentarily formed, was extremely practical. Almost solid, it has a small irregular excavation under the base. Spinazzi knew the marble would be against a wall so that its back could be left rough; he accordingly scraped the back of the model flat. The red dots for the pointing system, seen on the front and sides, do not appear on the model's back because no detailed areas were to be carved there. Atop the model's proper right hand he has indicated only a rough disk for the chalice's base, knowing that the final chalice would be separately made of metal. It is the chalice that establishes the subject of Faith and so, more subtly, does the veiling of the eyes (recognized by Boucher in Houston and London 2001–2). The eleventh chapter of the Letter to the Hebrews begins: "Now faith is the substance of



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things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.” This justified the veiling of the whole, more common for vestals and allegories of modesty.

Spinazzi repeated the marble with minor changes (notably the completely draped proper left hand) for the tomb of Princess Beloselski in the cemetery of San Lazzaro in Turin, now in the Mole Antonelliana in that city (Pescarmona 1977). The changes make it clear that he did not reuse the present model. An alabaster reduction by another hand is in the Hermitage, Saint Petersburg (Matzulevitsch 1965, fig. 154).



Fig. 38
Spinazzi, *Faith*, 1781,
marble. Florence,
Santa Maria Maddalena
dei Pazzi

The model, of pale, rather golden buff clay, sustained numerous small kiln cracks, particularly in the back.

JDD

22

JACQUES-EDME DUMONT

Paris, 1761–Paris, 1844

Jean-Baptiste Colbert

Terracotta, with substantial remains of white paint,
42 × 22.5 × 22.5 cm (16½ × 8¾ × 8¾ in.)
Paris, Musée Carnavalet (S 1497)

PROVENANCE

Perhaps coll. Liesville, on the basis of a handwritten reference (communication from Philippe Sorel); if so, acquired by the museum about 1885

This maquette is the small model of the statue of the statesman Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683), including its pedestal, which was placed in front of the façade of the present seat of the Assemblée Nationale in Paris.

On May 20, 1806, the architect Bernard Poyet wrote to the minister Vivant Denon about the construction of a façade for the palace of the Corps Législatif (the Palais-Bourbon under the ancien régime). In order to erect a worthy “entrance to the Temple of the Laws” on the building’s bridge side, the peristyle had to rise above a thirty-two-step staircase (the height would allow a view over the arched bridge). Poyet anticipated two statues on the incline: “Legislative Genius” and “Prudence”; and

“at the sides of the entrance grille, on four pedestals, are seated eight of the most celebrated legislators of antiquity” (AN, F¹³, 203; quoted by Biver 1936, p. 306). Subsequently these became illustrious figures of the modern epoch. A letter from Poyet dated December 5, 1806, also to Denon, announced that he had had the eight figures drawn “by an able draftsman who has varied them all, in such a way that the sculptors who are to execute them will have only to follow the different positions of the figures, whose attitudes by this means will not be alike” (AN, F¹³, 1072; quoted by Biver 1936, p. 312). In the end the number of statues was reduced to four, at 800 francs each (Biver 1936, p. 315).

Dumont’s plaster model of the *Colbert*, half the size of the definitive statue and probably created soon after

the terracotta, was exhibited at the Salon of 1808 (no. 680): “J. B. Colbert, minister of Finance and Surintendant des Bâtiments. He is represented examining the plan of the Hôtel des Invalides. This model six *pieds* high [195 cm (76¾ in.)] is to be executed at a height of twelve *pieds*, for one of the pedestals of the façade of the Corps Législatif.” The finished statue can be seen in the painting by Boilly, *Napoleon Awarding the Legion of Honor to the Sculptor Cartellier* (Napoleonic museum at the château at Arenenberg; see Chaudonneret 1981, p. 187; Paris 1999–2000, nos. 375, 376).

The statue was carved in stone from Saint-Leu (it was replaced in 1988 by a copy and deposited at the university of Reims; *Le Patrimoine de l’Assemblée Nationale* 1996, p. 57, ill.). Colbert is accompanied by three other statesmen who left their mark on France: Michel de l’Hospital (by L.-P. Deseine), Sully (by Beauvallet), and d’Aguesseau (by Foucou). The works are arranged laterally two by two at the entrance of the great staircase leading to the palace (fig. 39). The visitor climbing the steps then has on the left the *Minerva* by Roland and on the right the *Themis* by Houdon (all of the cited works are copies). The present pediment is not the one realized by Chaudet under the Empire, showing Napoleon on horseback presenting the flags from Austerlitz to the president and questors of the Corps Législatif (it was destroyed under the Restoration).

The sculptural ensemble in front of the façade of the Corps Législatif presented the imperial regime under the auspices of antiquity (represented by the goddesses of Wisdom and Justice) and in direct descent from the great servants of the old monarchy.

Colbert, in seventeenth-century costume, is shown seated as he consults the plan of the Hôtel des Invalides,

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Fig. 39
After Dumont, *Colbert*,
stone. Paris,
Palais-Bourbon

the great Louis XIV establishment in aid of soldiers. In the terracotta Dumont has admirably rendered the details of the clothing, which appears almost identical in the statue: only minor revisions and slight variations were made when the stone was carved (the lace bands; shoelaces instead of large buckles; the sash and insignia of the Order of the Saint-Esprit). On the front of the small model three regularly spaced vertical lines form a graduated scale. These measurements allowed the accurate transfer of the design, including the pedestal, to the larger format. At an unknown date the pedestal and parts of Colbert and his chair were crudely painted white, and may have been an attempt to judge the sculpture's appearance in stone. The pedestal was hollowed out to minimize damage in firing.

Dumont has admirably rendered his subject in clay. The liveliness and precision of his style do justice to the keen intelligence of the minister, with his lowered head and reflective gaze at the papers in his hands. His hands are perhaps a trifle large compared with the face, but the sculptor wanted to perfect the elements that would be at eye level in the final statue. He has modeled certain details with exquisite delicacy, such as the scrolls of paper falling on the seat under Colbert's right arm and the coat that slips from his shoulder. The composition is sober, clearly intelligible, and suited for its planned site. The maquette's existence is perhaps some consolation for the loss of the statue itself, destroyed by traffic pollution on the place de la Concorde in the last decades of the twentieth century. GS

Independent Works

23

AUGUSTIN PAJOU

Paris, 1730–Paris, 1809

Head of a Bearded Elder

Terracotta, 54 × 30 × 22.5 cm (21¼ × 11⅞ × 8⅞ in.), on a socle of *bleu turquin* marble

Inscribed on the tranche of the proper right shoulder:

Pajou / fé 1768

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (2003.25)

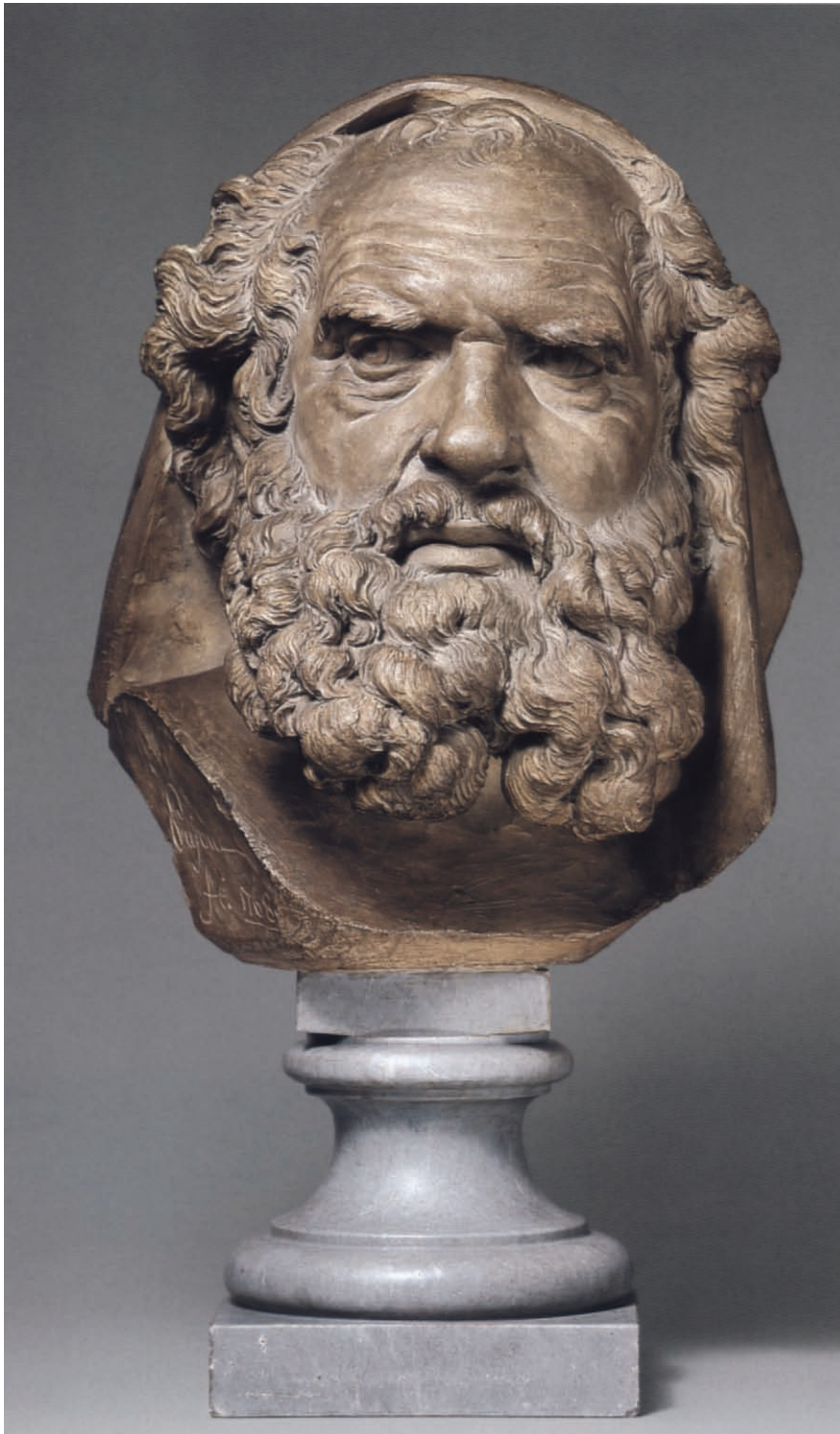
PROVENANCE

Edmond Courty, Châtillon-sous-Bagneux; sale of his heirs, Paris, Drouot, December 9, 2002, no. 30, ill.; acquired by the Museum with the Lila Acheson Wallace Gift

This head is an example of the traditional *tête d'expression*, usually meant as a public demonstration of a sculptor's ability to convey extremes of emotion. There is, however, no public record of this work prior to its recent sale at auction, neither in lists of the Salon nor in older collections. The likeliest explanation is that Augustin Pajou feared that the harsh, combative performance was a breach of contemporary notions of decorum and so kept it to himself. When he modeled it, he was at his busiest with decorative commissions for the royal opera at Versailles and the Palais-Royal, and perhaps he found

it diverting to fashion something diametrically opposite in character.

The head, while quite specific in its orneriness, has not found a totally satisfactory interpretation. The floating mantle that frames it could refer to an ancient philosopher. Might Pajou have been thinking of pairing an Aristotle with his earlier head from the Salon of 1761 (fig. 40; see Paris and New York 1997–98, no. 63, ill.), which might then conceivably be interpreted as the rather less rigorous and more idealistic Plato? The only ancient thinker shown comparably hirsute was Antisthenes, founder of the Cynic school of philosophy. His portraiture does not include a mantle, but it is not out of the question that from his Roman years Pajou recalled the Capitoline head that had been unearthed in 1744 (fig. 41; Richter 1984, p. 180, no. 1, 3). The mantle could also pertain to an Old Testament prophet (think of Raphael's *Isaiah* in Sant'Agostino, Rome). The glowering expression has prompted colleagues to suggest Moses or an aged but indomitable pugilist. The simplest explanation is that Pajou was continuing to explore a typology which had first interested him in Rome: a seated elder in a drawing dated 1754 is similarly mantled and almost equally intimidating (fig. 42; see Paris and New York 1997–98, no. 20, ill.). The elder was eventually used for the figure of Glaucias in a drawn composition of Pyrrhus begging protection from the ancient Illyrian monarch of that name (see Paris and New York 1997–98, nos. 18, 19, ill.; a drawing sold at Sotheby's New York, January 21, 2003, no. 109, ill., is too mechanical and unaccomplished to be Pajou's final entry for the Salon of 1759, as claimed). Pajou had undoubtedly drawn the figure from life, posed in the studio, and the hyperrealism of the present head



suggests that it too was based on a live model, again probably an Italian. Inflections recalling philosophers and prophets may remain, but uppermost in Pajou's mind was the actual sitter who registers pride together with a barely contained, combustible fury.

Pajou's expertise with the medium extends beyond the bristling eyebrows and flourishing beard. The whole is a brilliant exercise in asymmetry, positioned slightly sideways on the socle. The excavation in back, made to ensure an even firing, retains traces of his fingers smoothing the tan clay. The work was very dirty when acquired. Cleaning by the Metropolitan conservator Jack Soultanian revealed minor damages and plaster repairs (in the lower beard and a portion of the proper left nostril); they have once again been painted over.

JDD

Fig. 40
Pajou, *Head of Bearded Elder*, 1761, terracotta. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

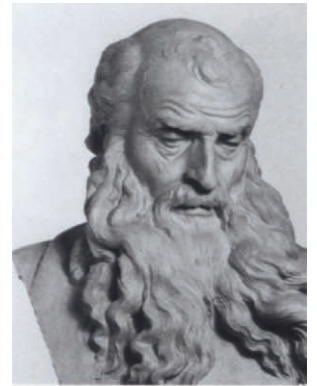


Fig. 41
Greek, *Antisthenes*, marble. Rome, Musei Capitolini

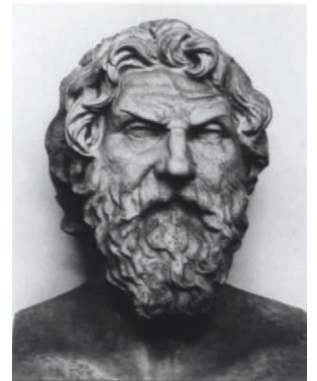


Fig. 42
Pajou, *Seated Bearded Elder*, 1754, black chalk, brown ink, brown wash, and red chalk. Paris, Musée du Louvre





24

PHILIPPE-LAURENT ROLAND

Pont-à-Marc (Nord), 1746–Paris, 1816

Sleeping Boy

Terracotta, painted white, 57.2 × 35.6 × 22.2 cm (22½ × 14 × 8¾ in.)
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1990.206)

PROVENANCE

Bought by the Museum from the Wrightsman Fund at Christie's,
Monaco, June 16, 1990, no. 141 (as anonymous eighteenth century)

EXHIBITION

Possibly Paris, Salon of 1783, no. 270

REFERENCES

Draper 1991, pp. 92–93, ill.; Draper 1991–92, pp. 30–31, ill.;
Draper 1992, pp. 129–32, fig. 2; Angers 1994–95, pp. 56–57; Draper
1999, p. 540

New York only

Philippe-Laurent Roland entered Antoine Pajou's studio by 1764, assisting in campaigns of decoration at the Palais-Royal and the opera at Versailles and emerging as his star pupil, possessed of a great flair for modeling and an impeccable carving technique. The money he made

with Pajou allowed him to spend five years studying in Rome between 1771 and 1776. He surely followed Pajou's precedent in drawing copiously after antique and modern masters, but no Roman drawings by him have been identified. However, the three busts from those years which were mentioned by his biographers have survived in one medium or another. They are the present *Sleeping Boy*, the complementary *Old Man Sleeping* (cat. no. 25), and a *Young Girl* with her hair done up in braids (see Draper 1999, pp. 540 and 552, fig. 3). Although the *Young Girl* is fresh-faced, looking straight ahead, the complicated tresses recall the moody composition of about 1750, sometimes called *La boudeuse*, by Jacques-François-Joseph Saly, the model for which has been incorrectly identified as the daughter of Jean-François de Troy, director of the French Academy in Rome (Levey 1965).

There are several antique precedents of sleeping boys which Roland could have considered, but many of these have associations with death, which was definitely not his interest in this case (see Draper 1992, p. 130). Here naturalistic concerns outweigh antiquarian study. Contemporary French painters were known for their half-length figures that captured characteristic moments with great verisimilitude and wit—for example, Jean-Baptiste Greuze represented both old and young in his magnificent sanguines (like terracotta, a medium extraordinarily suited to suggesting flesh), and Nicolas-Bernard Lépicié painted children sympathetically in their moments of intense concentration. Roland was much impressed by such works, but as important was his openhearted response to the comely Italians of every condition who sat as models for French artists. One hopes that the slightly pudgy scamp overtaken by sleep was paid well for sitting and providing this priceless moment.

The inclusion of arms in busts was a Late Baroque usage not widely revived before Joseph Chinard. In the present work and in others by Roland, the arm underscores the human aspect of his subjects and perhaps serves a decorative purpose.

It seems not unlikely that the dozing *Old Man* and *Boy* were made very near the same time more or less as pendants. They complement each other by representing age and innocence, and although the elder is rather broader and the *Boy* needs to employ only one supporting arm to make the compositional point, their movements respond to each other. There is no absolute proof of any examples of the two in the same collection, although Patrick Le Nouëne (in Angers 1994–95, p. 56) may be right to assume these were the “Two study busts under the same number” that Roland showed in the Salon of 1783 (no. 270).

In 1808 the plaster worker Micheli charged Roland six francs for casting a “dead child”—surely our poor lad, misunderstood (Draper 1992, p. 132). The medium of “a Young Sleeper” shown at the Salon of 1814 was not given

in the *livret*. The marble of “a child fallen asleep” was included in the 1845 inventory of the sculptor's widow's effects and passed to her daughter. A manuscript list of Roland's works, prepared after 1847 by or for a member of the family, itemizes three Roman works under the date 1774, including the same “little sleeper, marble” (for these details, see Draper 1992, p. 132). A Roland descendant owned the marble until at least 1901, when another descendant, Henry Marcel, published it (Marcel 1901, pp. 182, ill. p. 186). According to Alexandre Maral (oral communication), it is still in the family at Aix-en-Provence. In the marble the model was slightly altered: the irregular rectangular support that gives the terracotta some of its dreaminess was replaced with a banal circular base, and drapery was stuffed under the elbow for a more symmetrical look. This is the composition followed in a late bronze casting in Lille (Musée des Beaux-Arts, provenance unknown).

The coat of white paint, which is undatable, may be an example of the practice of painting models white, showing patrons how their compositions might appear in marble. The coating would also help to conceal kiln cracks and discolorations in the firing, which are noticeable in the *Old Man Sleeping*, for example, and could aid in making losses more palatable. The clay (reddish where visible) has sheared off noticeably at the *Sleeping Boy's* base, no doubt during the taking of a mold for a plaster.

JDD

25

PHILIPPE-LAURENT ROLAND

Pont-à-Marc (Nord), 1746–Paris, 1816

Old Man Sleeping

Terracotta, 58 × 51 × 39 cm (22 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 20 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)
Angers, Galerie David d'Angers (MBA 764)

PROVENANCE

Gift of the sculptor Pierre-Jean David d'Angers in the name of his marble practitioner Le Goupils, 1846

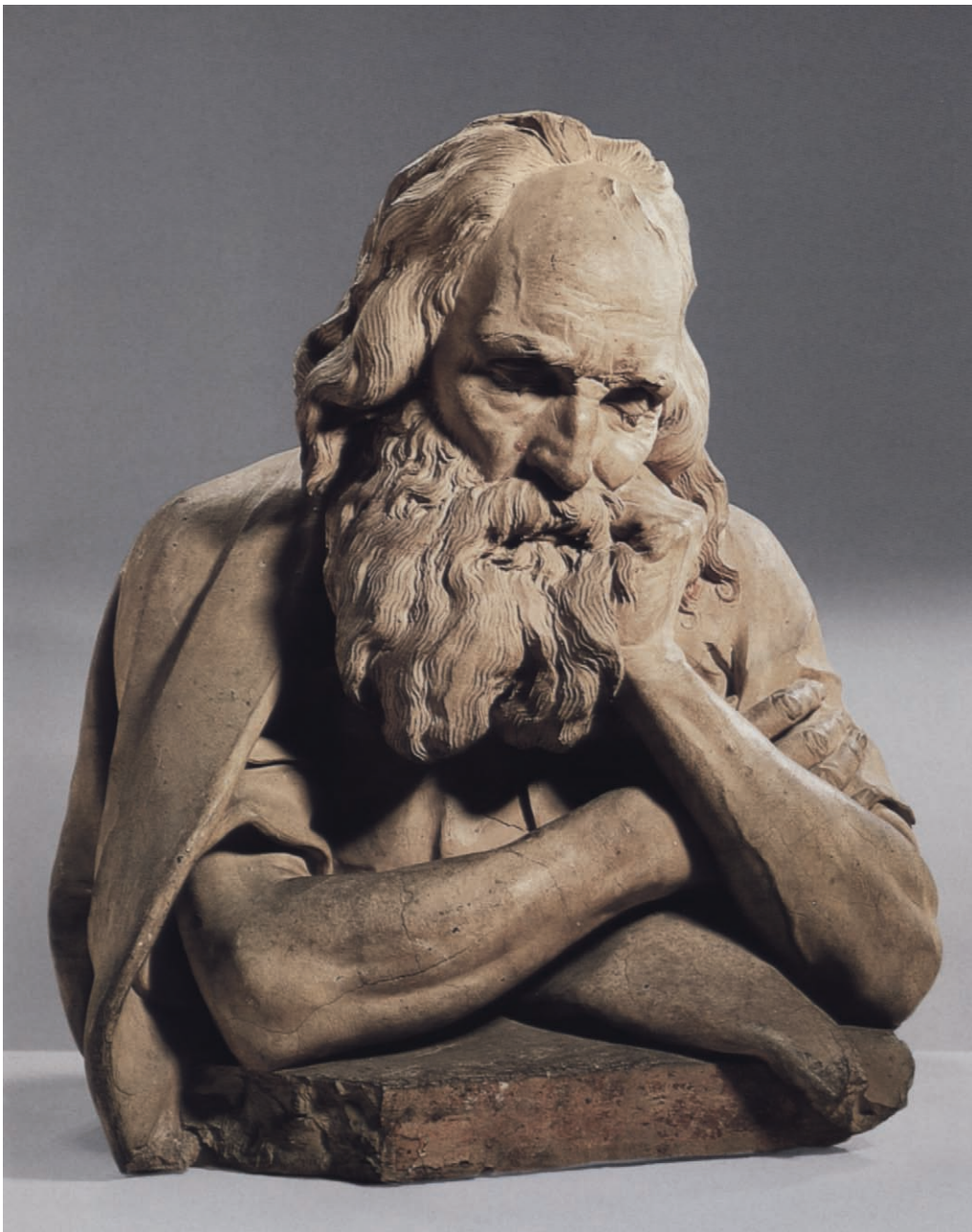
EXHIBITIONS

Possibly Paris, Salon of 1783, no. 270 (see cat. no. 25); Angers 1994–95, no. 11, ill.

REFERENCES

Mercier 1847, no. 111; Jouin 1870, p. 233, no. 740; Jouin 1881, p. 271, no. 624; Jouin 1885, p. 213; Benoit 1897, p. 437; Gonse 1904, p. 49; Lami 1910–11, vol. 2, p. 299; Chesneau 1934, no. 1244; Draper 1992, pp. 130–32, fig. 1; Draper 1999, p. 540

The *Old Man Sleeping* combines formal traditions differently from those behind the *Sleeping Boy* (cat. no. 24).



24

If the latter might evoke Greco-Roman typologies, the weight of recent French naturalistic experimentation is greater in the *Old Man*. If the present work has a biblical look—think of the drowsing Saint Joseph of the painters—it is also rooted in French academicism, in the *têtes d'expression* (expressive heads) practiced by Roland's employer and mentor, Augustin Pajou (cat. no. 23). An earlier academician such as Michel-Ange Slodtz would pair heads of an old man and a young girl, but neither would be taken for that of an actual model and both would be supplied with identities, such as *Chryses* and *Iphigenia* (Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 2, p. 596, ill.). Pajou would seize upon the magnificent features of his model, an elder of the people, work them into a bust, and refer to them in subsequent works (see cat. no. 23). For

Pajou the subject of the bust could have been simply venerable old age rather than a particular individual. Of interest to Roland may have been a pair by Pajou, unidentified but presumably character heads rather than portraits, in the sale of Jacques-Onésyme Bergeret, April 24, 1786, no. 380: "A head of an old man and a head of a woman as pendant." But sources of this sort, if they can be called such, receded deeply into Roland's memory when he was confronted by his actual Italian models—in this case a sympathetic old fellow who strikes us as an honest laborer who has earned his nap. In nodding off, he has offered extraordinary compositional opportunities to the observant, virtuoso modeler.

The *Old Man Sleeping* apparently is the only one of the three compositions of the Roman years (see cat.

no. 25) not executed in another medium. A mold may have been taken, indicated by some shearing away of clay at the base and by several plaster intrusions that have recently been removed. It is not out of the question that it once bore a coat of white paint, like the *Sleeping Boy*, which would have concealed numerous reddish impurities in the fissures that opened up in the kiln. The latter contribute to the overall textural excitement created by superbly veined temples and arms and the raked textures of hair and beard.

JDD

26

JOSEPH-CHARLES MARIN

Paris, 1759–Paris, 1834

Vestal

Terracotta, H. 42.5 × 16 × 14 cm (16¾ × 6¼ × 5½ in.)

Inscribed on the back of the base: *marin*

Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.76.12)

PROVENANCE

Sale, Paris, [Maillet du Boullay], December 11, 1890, no. 90; Gaston Le Breton, formerly director general of the Rouen museums; his sale, Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, December 6–8, 1921, no. 243, not ill.; sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, May 6, 1938, no. 111; sale, Versailles, May 24, 1964, no. 87, ill.; Paris art market, before 1975; gift of Anna Bing Arnold, 1976

EXHIBITIONS

Possibly Paris, Salon of 1795, no. 1061 ("Vestal. Model in clay"); Paris 1975, no. 41, ill.

REFERENCES

Schaefer and Fusco 1987, p. 145, ill.; Paris 1992a, pp. 405, 407, fig. 223

This young woman, strictly draped and veiled and holding a lamp, corresponds exactly to the iconography of a vestal. The latter was dedicated to the cult of Vesta, daughter of Saturn and sister of Juno and Ceres. "[She] refused to submit to a husband. What wonder if a virgin delights in a virgin minister and allows only chaste hands to touch her sacred things? Conceive of Vesta as naught but the living flame, and you see that no bodies are born of flame" (Ovid, *Fasti* 6.289–93). Lacombe de Prezel, in his dictionary of iconology of 1756, reissued and "considerably expanded" in 1779, gave the following description of vestals: "Priestesses in the service of the goddess Vesta. Vestals took a vow of virginity. Their continual occupation was to maintain the sacred fire in the temple of the goddess. That is why they are represented with head veiled and holding a lighted lamp or a small, two-handled vase filled with fire; sometimes the priestess is placed beside an antique altar on which is a lighted

brazier. There was nothing austere about their clothing: it was a kind of white rochet [a surpliselike garment], over which was a long, full, purple mantle that was ordinarily worn on one shoulder only so as to have an arm free. Their veil left the face exposed; some of their statues even show this veil worn at the back of the head, and the hair artfully arranged and curled. Vestals always sacrificed barefoot" (Lacombe de Prezel 1779, vol. 2, p. 290). Marin followed these conventions and placed a wreath of leaves on the veiled head of his subject. The vestals by Vien (1760; Gaehtgens and Lugand 1988, no. 167A), Clodion (in terracotta, 1768, and marble, 1770; Paris 1992a, p. 26, figs. 6, 7), and David (about 1787; Paris and Versailles 1989–90, no. 66, ill.), to mention only a few, are similarly crowned but with a garland of flowers. In contrast, the veil of Houdon's *Vestal* is left unadorned (marble, Salon of 1787; Arnason 1975, fig. 167).

Marin was greatly influenced by Clodion's *Vestal Making a Sacrifice* (fig. 43), although his figure does not pour a libation from a patera. Her general attitude, the arrangement of her clothing, and the form of the vase in her left hand are similar to other representations created in a kindred spirit. An example is the beautiful *Vestal Feeding the Fire with Her Patera Inverted*, in which the precious vase is laid on the ground, a statuette by an unidentified sculptor (the attribution to Clodion is not convincing; Paris 1934, no. 113; Réau 1936, fig. 11; Paris 1973a, no. 57, ill.). These two images took from the antique model of Vesta (the most widely known copy being that in the Giustiniani collection, engraved by Rossi and Maffei 1704, pl. LXXXV11) only the veiled head and the body clothed with layers of fabric.

Marin had exhibited a *Vestal* at the Salon of 1791 (no. 493). This cannot be identified with an attractive statuette—incorrectly described as that of a vestal—of a young girl sacrificing to Love: veiled and crowned with flowers but wearing a tunic that is well cut away at the arms and legs, she makes offerings on an altar decorated with a scene to the glory of Cupid (plaster signed and dated 1790: Paris 1992b, no. 12, ill.; several terracottas are known: Rothschild, Villa Éphrussi: Goetz 2002, pp. 206–9, ill.; sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, December 9, 2002, no. 115, ill.).

The present terracotta is a tall, austere figure, slightly animated by a faint smile. What is enchanting here is the artist's personal style: Marin has indulged himself in detailing the layers of fabric and the fall of the folds that define the forms. He handles the clay with immense virtuosity, smoothing, chiseling, scoring, in such a way as to create a composition of grooves and lines that is almost abstract. On the back is a particularly subtle network of lines either barely marked on the surface or deeply grooved, which constitutes a dazzling, purely geometric abstract ensemble. Such a masterpiece signals the complete maturity of the sculptor and supports the hypothesis of a presentation at the Salon of 1795.

GS



26



26 (reverse)



Fig. 43
Clodion,
Vestal Sacrificing, 1768, terracotta.
Pittsburgh, Carnegie Museum of Art

27

AUGUSTIN PAJOU

Paris, 1730–Paris, 1809

Ariadne

Terracotta, 33.7 × 13.5 × 14 cm (13¼ × 5½ × 5½ in.)
Inscribed on the base at front: *ARIANE*; on the rock at back:
PAJOU. F. / 1796. L'AN / 4 DE LA REPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE (Pajou
made this in 1796, year IV of the French Republic)
Paris, Musée du Louvre (RF 3022)

PROVENANCE

Doctor P., sale, Paris, November 26–28, 1840, no. 11; London art
market, 1968; acquired in Paris, 1974

EXHIBITIONS

London 1968b, no. 66, ill.; Duisburg, Karlsruhe, Gotha, and Paris
1989–90, no. 44, ill.; Paris and New York 1997–98, no. 136, ill.

REFERENCE

Beaulieu 1979, pp. 159–61, ill.

Like many French artists during the years of the Revolution, Augustin Pajou, the grand old man of sculpture, saw his commissions fall off sharply. Here he revisits past triumphs, in this case his famous marble nude, *Psyche Abandoned* (finished in 1790; Paris, Louvre; see Scherf in Paris and New York 1997–98, no. 134, ill.). He made miniature variants on the pose in terracotta (1795 and 1796; formerly Oppenheim collection and Los Angeles County Museum of Art; see Paris and New York 1997–98, p. 344, fig. 210, and no. 137, ill.). Though the subject is changed, Ariadne's pose is a variant of *Psyche's*.



27



27 (reverse)

The youthful Ariadne is seen against a rock formation. The ball of thread at her feet refers to the help she gave Theseus to escape from the labyrinth below, after slaying the Minotaur; the ingrate then returned her to her native Naxos and abandoned her (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.169–82). Here she may be anxiously waiting for Theseus to emerge from the cavern, or she may be seen abandoned by him on Naxos (she will later be discovered by Bacchus and become his beloved [see cat. no. 84]). Either is possible. The rockery could suggest her post near the Cretan labyrinth. The return to Naxos is attractive because it would mean we are seeing the languishing beauty through the eyes of Bacchus. The choice of subject was perhaps prompted by Jean-Frédéric Edelman's opera of 1782, *Ariane dans l'île de Naxos*, which gave its star, Mme Saint-Huberty, a wide range of histrionics. The composition is slightly more vertical than that of *Psyche*, and the repositioning of the arms may unconsciously recapitulate another French classic, Christophe-Gabriel Allegrain's *Bather*, with equally superb contrapposto (1767; Louvre; Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 1, p. 21).

The buff clay, manipulated with great tenderness, retains much of its pinkish slip. JDD

28

JACQUES-EDME DUMONT

Paris, 1761–Paris, 1844

Paris

Terracotta, 19 × 7.5 × 9 cm (7½ × 3 × 3½ in.)
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1989.289.1)

PROVENANCE

Probably Augustin Dumont, Paris; his sale, Paris, March 30, 1884; Léon Ginain, Paris (visible in an old photograph: Crosnier Leconte 1995, p. 70); Cayeux, Paris, 1977; sale, Paris, Drouot, April 4, 1989, no. 148; purchased by the Museum in London with Friends of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts Gifts, 1989

EXHIBITION

Paris, Exposition de l'Élysée, 1797 (see *Divers Salons* 1996, p. 265, no. 13, "un petit Paris")

REFERENCES

Draper 1991, p. 98, ill.; Draper 1991–92, p. 40, ill.

When he returned to France from Italy in 1793, Jacques-Edme Dumont was forced by financial necessity to work for bronze founders and silversmiths such as the *orfèvre sculpteur* Henry Auguste. One could easily visualize the *Paris* in metal, but Dumont also exhibited his terracotta miniatures at the Salons, advertising his specialty at least partly with the intention of selling some as works in their



28



28 (profile)

own right (he followed this one with a “Shepherd Representing the Shepherd Cephalus” at the Salon of 1798). It is hardly possible to work clay much smaller than Dumont did in this little gem, although some of his models in the Louvre are even tinier (Musée du Louvre 1992, pp. 96–99, nos. 30–33, ill.).

A Trojan shepherd-prince and the second son of Priam, the king of Troy, Paris carried Helen away from the Greeks, an act that precipitated the Trojan War. Here he is a strongly idealized adolescent bare but for his Phrygian cap. He rests against a rocky bank, dog at his feet and staff at his side, as he contemplates the golden apple that was his to bestow upon the fairest of the fair. The crossed ankles could signify Dumont’s generic recollection of any

of several ancient marble versions of a bronze original by Euphranor, praised by Pliny for conveying three roles simultaneously: Paris as awarder of the apple to the most beautiful of three goddesses, as lover of Helen, and as slayer of Achilles (*Natural History* 34.77; see Dacos 1961). Dumont settles for less, emphasizing the first aspect and perhaps suggesting the second but not the third. In fact, Dumont rather shamelessly paraphrases Nicolas-François Gillet’s *morceau de réception* (1757, Louvre; Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 1, p. 393), only straightening and streamlining the composition in keeping with progressive Neoclassical canons and adding the half-alert dog.

The pale buff clay is worked with uncommon deftness, exemplifying that “charming taste and incomparable



finesse of study" which his biographer Vattier said Dumont's terracottas possess (Vattier 1890, p. 74). The Musée du Louvre acquired several at the same sale in which *Paris* appeared in 1989 (Musée du Louvre 1992, pp. 96–99, nos. 30–33, ill.). JDD

29

JOHANN HEINRICH DANNECKER

Stuttgart, 1758–Stuttgart, 1841

Paris

Terracotta, 33.5 × 10.5 × 10.5 cm (13¼ × 4¼ × 4½ in.)

Inscribed on the columnar stump at the rear: *Dannecken. / 1803.*
Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie (P 725c)

PROVENANCE

Gift of the artist to Sulpiz and Melchior Boisserée, Munich;
bequest of Sulpiz Boisserée to the Königliches Museum der
bildenden Künste, Stuttgart, 1854

EXHIBITIONS

Frankfurt 1979, no. 20, ill. p. 30; Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 1, no. 98, ill.;
Stuttgart 1993, no. 168, ill.

REFERENCES

Der Neue deutsche Merkur 1803; Meusel 1808, p. 156; Königliches
Museum, Stuttgart 1856, p. 25; Haack 1863, p. xviii; Königliches
Museum, Stuttgart 1897, p. 99, no. 31; Spemann 1909, App., p. 183,
no. 51, pl. 30; Baudissin 1931, p. 240, no. 38; Musper 1942, p. 272,
fig. 20; Spemann 1958, p. 11, pl. 15; Boisserée 1978–95, vol. 2, p. 365

Dannecker was a passionate reader of the *Iliad* from his boyhood when he was introduced to it by his comrade Friedrich von Schiller. In 1794–95 he planned a colossal Hector Rebuking Paris (the marble was never commissioned, and the plaster, once in the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, was destroyed in World War II; see Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 1, pp. 214–16, ill.). Hector's wrath was directed at his brother's cowardice before the Greek army. A decade later the sculptor returned to Homer with a pair of statuettes, this Paris and an Achilles, like it dated 1803 (see Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 1, no. 97, ill.). Both represent exceedingly comely, rather androgynous youths. Throwing off the girlish attire he wore while hiding among the daughters of Lycomedes, Achilles ecstatically flourishes the arms that Ulysses had smuggled to him. As his compositional foil, Paris is seen on Mount Ida, where he learned archery. Wearing a Phrygian cap, he oils his bow (largely missing) with a rag. His air is far from menacing, but the pairing of these future adversaries follows post-Homeric accounts in which Paris slew Achilles by shooting an arrow into that hero's vulnerable heel.

Dannecker had studied in Paris with Augustin Pajou in 1783–85, and long after his stay in Italy and his estab-

lishment of a highly successful career at home in Stuttgart, he had lively memories of the French capital and its sculptors. Veronika Mertens (in Stuttgart 1993, no. 168) recognized that his *Paris* in fact is a clever inversion of a well-loved masterpiece by Edme Bouchardon, *Cupid Carving His Bow from the Club of Hercules* (Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 1, p. 115, ill.).

Dannecker's smallest projects were news as soon as he sketched them. He was well connected to Goethe and the cultural publicity machinery of Weimar, where *Der Neue teutsche Merkur* got wind of the *Paris* and *Achilles* by July of 1803: "For this [the ill-fated *Hector*] he has just lately invented parallels of Achilles and Paris, likewise taken from Father Homer, and will append a Ulysses, of which you will have notice in turn." A Ulysses does not seem to survive. As promising as the projected quartet of two Greeks and two Trojans may have seemed to him, and as satisfying as the existing two are, Dannecker may have felt that the charm of the pale buff statuettes would be lost if they were to be epically enlarged in marble.

JDD

30

JOHANN HEINRICH DANNECKER

Stuttgart, 1758–Stuttgart, 1841

Boy on a Dolphin

Terracotta, H. 16 cm (6⅜ in.)

Inscribed on the right side: *Dannecker. / 1809.*

Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie (P725a)

PROVENANCE

Bequest of Sulpiz Boisserée to the Königliches Museum der bildende Künste, Stuttgart, 1854

EXHIBITIONS

Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 1, no. 121, ill.; Stuttgart 1993, no. 231, ill.

REFERENCES

Kunstblatt 1820, p. 92; Königliches Museum, Stuttgart 1856, p. 25; Haakh 1863, p. xvii, pl. iv; Königliches Museum, Stuttgart 1897, p. 99, no. 30; Spemann 1909, p. 88, App., p. 184, no. 63, pl. 78; Baudissin 1931, p. 241, no. 47; Musper 1942, pp. 264, 272–73, fig. 23; Fleischhauer, Baum, and Kobell 1952, p. 30; Spemann 1958, p. 32, pl. 35; Holst 1982, pp. 73–74, ill.

In this enthralling miniature Dannecker brought his lyrical powers of invention to bear on a theme from classical literature. Dolphins have always been known for their friendliness, and authors from Aristotle on told of their passionate fondness for beautiful boys. Pliny the Elder and Aelian give variants of a tale in which the love object was a schoolboy. Pliny writes:

In the reign of the late lamented Augustus a dolphin that had been brought into the Lucrine Lake fell marvellously in love with a certain boy, a poor man's son, who used to go from the Baiae district to school at Pozzuoli, because fairly often the lad when loitering about the place at noon called him to him by the name of Snubnose and coaxed him with bits of the bread he had with him for the journey,—I should be ashamed to tell the story were it not that it has been written about by Maecenas and Fabianus and Flavius Alfius and many others,—and when the boy called to it at whatever time of the day, although it was concealed in hiding it used to fly to him out of the depth, eat out of his hand, and let him mount on its back, sheathing as it were the prickles of its fin, and used to carry him when mounted right across the bay to Pozzuoli to school, bringing him back in similar manner, for several years, until the boy died of disease, and then it used to keep coming sorrowfully and like a mourner to the customary place, and itself also expired, quite undoubtedly from longing. (Pliny, *Natural History* 9.25–26)

In Aelian's potboiler, greater emphasis is laid on the lad's "surpassing loveliness." The later author writes that the boy was a student at the gymnasium at Iassus. Ferried home by the dolphin, the exhausted youth threw himself belly first onto its back, skewering himself on its dorsal fin. He died, as did the dolphin from sorrow, and the locals dedicated a monument bearing a sculpture of them both (Aelian, *On the Characteristics of Animals* 6.15).

It is difficult to say on which text Dannecker relied, but it was more likely Pliny. He would have shunned Aelian's titillating eroticism, and there is no sign of an abdominal wound. On the other hand, he would have responded appreciatively to Aelian's mention of the monument raised by the Iassians. Here it is not certain that the boy is dead: he could be napping on his homeward crossing, oblivious of the waves through which his mount crashes. His open sprawling pose recalls many in the history of Renaissance anatomy, but the elegant legs may be most inspired by those of Diogenes in Raphael's *School of Athens*. That he is a student is shown by the two tablets suspended by leather thongs at his elbow and wrist (as in scenes of instruction on Greek vases: Richter 1936, vol. 2, pls. 80, 81, nos. 78, 79).

Holst's idea that Dannecker was considering a fountain is attractive (in Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 1, p. 330). Water can easily be imagined spouting from the creature's deep and remarkably toothy mouth—this, as often in the postantique world, is a very fishy "dolphin" indeed.

Dannecker's idealized schoolboy is somewhere between childhood and early youth. Musper recognized the group's origins in an earlier composition of a much younger boy reclining on a dolphin, which exists in several marble replicas, some carved by Joseph Nollekens in Rome. These curiosities are configured so as to lie in a way



30

Fig. 44
Probably by Joseph Nollekens,
Boy on a Dolphin, from Cavaceppi
1768–72, vol. 1, pl. 44. The marble
was bought by Catherine II and is
now in the State Hermitage
Museum, Saint Petersburg



that stresses the horizontal, and this can make Musper's observation hard to follow. However, Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, who advertised an example he had just sold to the Bailli de Breteuil as by Lorenzetto after Raphael, no less, had the marble engraved from a bird's-eye view which justifies Musper (fig. 30.1). Howard (1990, pp. 78–97) claims that the classical authority here is Aelian, but the

child in this marble would not qualify for nursery school. The relationship of human and sea life and the mellifluous patterns of limbs are carried over by Dannecker, certainly, but he manipulates the clay as if whipping it up so as to make the setting foamier and generally more aqueous. The contours of the buff clay are lightly underscored by fine tooling. JDD



30 (reverse)

2

The Sculptor's Training



A sculptor usually received his first training in his father's studio or in that of a kinsman or a friend who lived nearby. To be accepted as a student at the Académie Royale, the aspiring youth had to have a written recommendation from his master. Before beginning the arduous course of study, he had to demonstrate that he had acquired a mastery of fundamentals.

The role of clay in the academic exercises of the young sculptor is well attested. An artist in training had to become proficient at copying the masters through drawing, then making copies after antique sculptures, and then making sculptures from live models. In describing a proposed academy for Besançon, Breton envisioned a room for beginners to practice drawing after prints and freestanding sculptures and a second room for sculpting from life. "When the students who apply themselves to sculpture make progress, [and can] handle the clay with power and ease," they will be able to work in white stone and marble. They will have already learned how to draw: "There must be another room for those beginners who already know how to draw after prints and are ready to work from nature. . . . There must also be pieces in plaster and in clay so that they can learn to draw sculpture in the round."¹

Breton was enunciating the principles of the Académie in Paris, whose influence had spread throughout Europe.² Cochin's engraving for the article "Drawing" in the *Encyclopédie* illustrates the training program in three scenes: at left, a sculptor models a relief after a sculpture in the round; at right, young students copy drawings of *académies* (nude figures); and, in the middle, older youths work in front of a



Fig. 45
Charles-Nicolas Cochin, *Art School* [*L'École de dessin*], 1763, black chalk.
Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett

1. Breton, *Mémoire sur le projet d'établir à Besançon, une école gratuite de peinture et de sculpture, présenté à l'Intendant de Franche-Comté, par le sculpteur Luc Breton et le peintre Melchior Wyrsh*. February 1773 (Archives du Doubs, Intendance), quoted in Cornillot 1940, pp. 127–31.

Fig. 46
Cochin, *Competition for
the Prize for Best Expressive
Head*, 1761,
black chalk, highlighted in white.
Paris, Musée du Louvre



live model and a freestanding sculpture on a modeling stand (fig. 45). A 1768 sketch by Saint-Aubin of the Danish royal academy, at the moment of the visit by Christian VII of Denmark, shows sculptors modeling a relief from a live model.³ Several academies still have examples of clay studies of male nudes executed in relief (see cat. no. 31).⁴ Sculptors modeled these nude studies as painters drew them, but with the advantage of relief. They could make subtle changes in the surface elevation and the play of solids and voids, synthesizing everything they had learned in their anatomy and perspective classes.

The school year at the Académie was punctuated by the awarding of small prizes for various competitions, such as one for an “expressive head,” for which, according to the rules in 1759, the students had to “draw or paint, model in the round or in bas-relief, a head from life, done lifesize, showing the expression of an emotion. . . . This study must be done only from life, not in any other way.”⁵ Cochin’s 1761 charcoal drawing shows a young woman as the incarnation of Sorrow, seated in front of attentive students (fig. 46). Behind her hang several reliefs and in the corner is a plaster copy of an antique Marsyas. No “expressive head” sculptures by students dating from the ancien régime have survived,⁶ but Stouf’s *Affliction* is close to them in spirit (cat. no. 32). In fact very few terracotta works in whatever form are known from the Paris Académie during the years of the ancien régime.⁷ Examples do exist elsewhere in Europe, at the academies in Parma and Saint Petersburg, as well as those in Madrid⁸ and Valencia.⁹ Several examples from the Accademia di San Luca in Rome¹⁰ are included here: first-prize winners of the Concorso Clementino (cat. nos. 33, 38) and a prize-winning figure group from the Concorso Balestra (cat. no. 35), two competitions that stimulated artistic activity.

The ability of the sculptor to dominate his own medium was demonstrated in clay modeling when he presented to the academicians the sketch or the model for a future *morceau de réception* or even the *morceau de réception* itself (see cat. no. 40).

2. Pevsner 1940, pp. 140–44.

3. This drawing (private collection) is reproduced in Roland Michel 1987, p. 58, fig. 44. A sculptor makes a freestanding sculpture from a live model in a drawing by Johann Jacobé after Martin Ferdinand Quadal, *The Modeling Room at the Imperial Academy in Vienna, 1790* (Munich, Graphische Sammlung; see Munich and Cologne 2002, no. 138, ill.).

4. Such nude studies can also be found in Parma (see Pellegrini 1988) and in Saint Petersburg. There is a little-known nude relief study by Claude-François Attiret; the artist’s name is incised in the clay (Dole, Musée des Beaux-Arts). Others attributed to Tommaso Righi are in Bergamo (Accademia Carrara); see Zeri 1985, p. 61, figs. 9–12.

5. Duvivier 1861, pp. 195–97.

6. A terracotta by Marin, signed and dated on the base before the notation “Prix d’Expression an IX,” appeared in a sale at Sotheby’s London, April 6, 1995, no. 73, ill.

7. See Scherf in Musée du Louvre 2002, pp. 45–46, no. 19.

8. See Azcue Brea 1994.

9. See Vilaplana Zurita 1991; Buchón Cuevas 1996.

10. See Rome 2000.

When Scheffauer sent his *Meleager* (cat. no. 40) to Toulouse, it was an unusual gesture which had an important impact on that provincial art capital. This work, a *morceau de réception*, is a skillful transcription of antique models. Thoughts of antiquity permeated the minds of sculptors during this period. Canova, to cite only one, had “the praiseworthy habit” of having classical authors read to him as he worked.¹¹

Some superb copies in terracotta after the antique were done, such as that made by Juan Adán Morlán in Italy in 1775 after *Menelaus and Patroclus*, which exists in several copies¹²—it is unfortunately too fragile to be moved from the academy of San Fernando¹³—and the well-known *Wrestlers* by Canova¹⁴ after the group in the Tribuna of the Uffizi. Cavaceppi’s splendid statuettes after *Menander* and *Posidippus* in the Vatican are carefully detailed reductions and illustrate, as does his *Molossian Dog* (cat. no. 41),¹⁵ his energetic exploration of ancient works. Clodion (cat. no. 43) was inspired by the antique as a generic repertory, transforming its motifs in charming works that pleased the growing clientele for his terracotta figures. Clodion had more than a few emulators, notably Jean-Joseph Foucou, whose small *Cupid and Psyche*, modeled after the ancient group in the Capitoline is a work vibrating with sensuality and grace.¹⁶

In adapting ancient sources, modern sculptors had a common objective. We cite in closing the words of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing: “I should prefer that only those be called works of art in which the artist had occasion to show himself as such and in which beauty was his first and ultimate aim.”¹⁷

GS

11. Fernow 1806, quoted in Wittkower 1963, p. 66.
12. Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 291–96, no. 72, figs. 153–55.
13. Azcúe Brea 1994, pp. 236–38, ill.
14. 1775, Venice, Gallerie dell’Accademia. See Pavanetto 1976, p. 89, no. 4, ill.
15. Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool 1977, p. 293, nos. 6580, 6581, ill.
16. Paul Cailleux collection, in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne. See Paris 1973a, no. 68, ill.; FRAM 1985, p. 121, ill.
17. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laocoön: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry* (first German ed. 1766; new ed., trans. Edward Allen McCormick [Baltimore and London, 1984]), p. 55.

Academic Exercises

Sculptural training in European academies emphasized the modeling in clay of nude studies as well as historical composition.¹ Beginning in 1767 the candidates for the *grand prix* at the Académie Royale in Paris were selected through a supplemental trial in making “models in clay”² from nature.³ This competition was held in the institution itself to ensure that the students were working on their own. The terracottas by the laureates—who became members of the elite *École des Élèves Protégés*⁴—were shown at Versailles so the king could view them in his residence. Pajou’s *Anacreon Plucking a Feather from the Wings of Cupid* (fig. 47),⁵ shown there in January 1750, represented a somewhat arcane subject, identified by *Erotic Odes*, the title of the poet Anacreon’s masterwork, inscribed in Greek. Laurent Guiard showed his *Hercules, Slayer of the Dragon of the Hesperides* there in 1752⁶ and other sculptures in following years. He demonstrated his talent for modeling clay a few years later during his sojourn at the Académie de France in Rome. A July 16, 1755, letter from Natoire, the director of the Academy, to the marquis de Marigny, the director of the *bâtiments du roi*, stated that Guiard “would have been very embarrassed, he told me, if he had had to show you drawings, not

having done any, and having always been taught to model; he finds clay more vital than pencil.”⁷ In a letter to Natoire, dated September 30, 1755, Marigny stated: “One does not require a sculptor to be able to draw beautifully in pencil; his principal talent is to model.”⁸ On May 26, 1756 Natoire wrote: “Pajou, who is about to leave, will become a good sculptor; he models with spirit.”⁹

La Live de Jully, a fine amateur artist and member of the Académie Française, passionately collected terracotta models of the *morceaux d’agrément* or *morceaux de réception* by sculptors with whom he associated. In one case a terracotta, rather than a marble (which was the regulation), was accepted as a *morceau de réception*: Alexis Loir’s *Marsyas*, one of the works presented at his *agrément* in 1746, as a “painter in pastel [and] in consideration of his talent for modeling,” which, as an exception, was permitted at the time of his *réception* in 1779.¹⁰ The juxtaposition of these two techniques delighted amateurs: for example, the terracotta bust of Maurice-Quentin de la Tour by Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne was an echo of the portrait of the latter (a sculptor) by the first (a pastelist).¹¹

GS



Fig. 47
Pajou, *Anacreon Plucking a Feather from the Wings of Cupid*, terracotta, 1750. Paris, Musée du Louvre



Fig. 48
Giuseppe Borsi, *Nude*, terracotta, 1776. Parma, Accademia Parmense di Belle Arti

1. The name of Laurent Guiard appears on several academic nude studies in the Istituto Toschi (Parma, Accademia Parmense di Belli Arti); see Pellegrini 1988, p. 141 (terracotta by Giuseppe Borsi, 1776 [fig. 48]) and p. 150 (terracotta by Giambattista Poncet, 1777). Often unfired, academic works in clay sometimes survived as plaster molds (a notable collection is in Saint Petersburg, Academy of Arts).
2. *Procès-Verbaux* 1875–92, vol. 7 (1886), p. 383 (February 27, 1767).
3. Courajod 1874, pp. 23–24, quoting a 1751 regulation.
4. An autonomous pedagogical institute within the Académie, which functioned in the third quarter of the eighteenth century.
5. Paris and New York 1997–98, no. 1, ill.
6. This is not the painted plaster statuette (Parma, Museo Civico Glauco Lombardi) depicting Hercules on the Funeral Pyre, derived from a *morceau de réception* by Coustou (Paris and New York 1997–98, p. 32, fig. 8).
7. *Académie de France à Rome* 1887–1908, vol. 11 (1901), p. 97.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 138.
10. Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 2, p. 474, ill. A pastelist had to present two portraits for his *réception*. Alexis Loir only had time to do one, his portrait of the painter Clément Belle (Musée du Louvre). The Académie made an exception and accepted, in lieu of the second pastel, “the Satyr Marsyas and the fired-clay [terracotta] bust of Carle Van Loo, modeled by him and present in the Académie since 1746” “in consideration of the various talents that the Sr Loir has shown at the time of his *agrément*” (February 27, 1779; *Procès-Verbaux* 1875–92, vol. 8 [1888], p. 367).
11. Lemoyne exhibited a bust of La Tour at the Salon of 1748 and another at the Salon of 1763 (terracotta; Saint-Quentin, Musée Lécuyer); la Tour showed pastel portraits of Lemoyne at the Salons of 1747 and 1763. See Debré and Salmon 2000, p. 59.

Studies

31

JACQUES JEAN VAN DER NEER

Antwerp, 1760–Antwerp, 1838

Standing Male Nude

Terracotta, 64.5 × 39.5 × 9.5 cm (25½ × 15½ × 3¾ in.)

Inscribed on the background: *Primus / Jacobus Joan / Van der Neer / Beeldhouwer / Van Antwerpen / 9 Meert 1788 / Ita est / J Van der Sanden / Secris* (First / Jacobus Joan[nes] [Jacques Jean] / Van der Neer / Sculptor / of Antwerp / March 9, 1788 / Thus it is / J Van der Sanden / Secretary)

Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts (2421)

PROVENANCE

Acquired in Antwerp by Ed Terbruggen, 1872

EXHIBITION

Brussels 1985–86, no. 105, ill.

REFERENCES

Devigne 1923, p. 98, no. 576; Van Lennep 1992, p. 355, ill.

Paris only

After studying with his father, Jacques Joseph, Van der Neer continued his training as a sculptor at the academy in Antwerp where he was inscribed and was listed as a member of the life class in 1783 and 1784 (Brussels 1985–86, p. 135). In 1788 he won first prize in the life-study competition with this relief. The inscription, signed by the institution's secretary Van der Sanden,



commemorates the award. The modeling of a male nude in low relief was a standard exercise in an artist's apprenticeship. Examples comparable to the present work are found in several European academies: in Parma, for example, and Saint Petersburg.

The study of human anatomy was a cornerstone of academic teaching. In making a terracotta relief the student reconciled the soundness of his design and proportions with his ability in working the clay. In this compulsory exercise Van der Neer succeeds in animating his figure through a pronounced contrapposto and an asymmetric presentation of the feet. The model's face, seen in profile, is finely treated. The realism of Van der Neer's sculpted transcription includes the accessories that helped the model maintain his pose: the man's left hand rests on a stick, while his elevated right arm is supported beneath the elbow. His right hand, fastened to the background with a lump of clay, is seen palm outward; this no doubt reproduces his pose in the studio, where he would have held onto a ring attached to the ceiling by a cord. Under the model's feet Van der Neer amusingly evokes a ground with plant life to accommodate the presence of the rustic walking stick.

This work, which has been broken and restored, is covered with a brown-red wash. GS

32

JEAN-BAPTISTE STOUF

Paris, 1742–Charenton-le-Pont (Val-de-Marne), 1826

Young Girl in Affliction

Terracotta, on white marble pedestal, h. of bust 38.3 cm (15 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.), with pedestal, 48.8 × 34 × 29 cm (19 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)
Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Sculptures (RF 4516)

PROVENANCE

Sale, Monaco, Sotheby's, July 1, 1995, no. 289; acquired by the museum at this sale

EXHIBITIONS

Probably Paris, Salon of 1785, no. 244 (*Jeune fille affligée*); Paris 2002, no. 11, ill.

REFERENCES

Scherf in Musée du Louvre 1996, pp. 104–9, no. 28, ill.; Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 2, p. 599, ill.

This terracotta, so original in its appearance and subject, is probably to be identified with the *Young Girl in Affliction* that Stouf exhibited at his first Salon in 1785, the year in which he was admitted to the Académie Royale. The work was there paired with a Belisarius, and both were described in the catalogue as "Study heads." The artist

later executed the couple in marble: the "Young girl weeping. Marble bust," shown at the Salon of 1789, is very likely the same as "Head of a woman in marble. Sorrow," exhibited at the Salon of 1791. There it was paired with a "Head of an old man, in marble," identified in the first (rejected) catalogue of the Salon as "Head of Belisarius in marble" (see Scherf 1997, pp. 53, 58), a work now lost. It was thus Stouf's intention in 1785 and 1791 to confront two character heads as pendants, as Lambert-Sigisbert Adam (*Neptune and Amphitrite*), Michel-Ange Slodtz (*Chryses and Iphigenia*), and Louis-Simon Boizot (*High Priest and Vestal*) had done before him. It was no doubt the contrast between an old man and a young woman that interested him rather than a dubious iconographic connection (Belisarius generally has a youth for an associate; in antiquity the companion of a young girl in affliction would instead have been Oedipus). The sculptor was haunted by this theme, for he again exhibited an "Expressive head, in marble, representing Affliction" at the Salon of 1814. Two marbles can probably be connected with at least one of these citations: that in the Louvre is a fuller composition, with the arm complete and a drapery (fig. 49); that in the Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor, which is visibly and perhaps deliberately unfinished, resembles the terracotta in the way it is truncated, although it apparently represents a young man wearing a headband that suggests an athlete in antiquity (Scherf in Musée du Louvre 1996, p. 108, fig. 28e).

This *Young Girl in Affliction*, "study head" or "expressive head," is directly related to the exercises that the Académie required of its pupils, for which terracotta was the obligatory medium. The competition for the expressive head, inaugurated and underwritten by the comte de Caylus, required the students to "draw or paint, model in the round or in relief, a lifesize head from nature, representing the expression of a passion . . . this study must be done from nature and not otherwise" (Duvivier 1861, pp. 195–97). The celebrated composition that Cochin executed in 1761 (Paris, Musée du Louvre), engraved two years later by Flipart under the self-explanatory title *Competition for the Prize for Best Expressive Head*, shows students occupied in drawing the fixed expression of a model (fig. 47). Affliction as a subject was proposed as early as 1760, followed by analogous themes in 1767 (Despondency), 1773 (Suffering), and 1780 (Profound Sorrow). Stouf never won a prize in this competition, nor is it known if he participated in it. But he could have done so, according to the regulations of 1759, since he had obtained a first medal in the competition for a small prize in 1767 and second place in the grand prize for sculpture in 1769. The wild look of the *Young Girl in Affliction*, with her open mouth and disordered hair, her shoulder raised in a convulsive movement, clearly suggests a transitory moment of deep emotion, allowing us to place the work in the context of the expressive-heads competition.

Between 1778 and 1791 *Young Girl in Affliction* was copied three times in Stouf's studio by François Baillairgé, his pupil from Québec (the drawings are now in the Musée du Québec). Baillairgé faithfully records the irregular *découpe* of the bust (fig. 50), with its right shoulder thrust forward and the beginning of the right arm, so beautifully completed in the Louvre marble. With these drawings as a complement to the surviving sculptures, it is thus possible to follow Stouf's fine work in the formal elaboration of his composition.

When Stouf exhibited *Young Girl in Affliction* at the Salon of 1785, he had at last been recognized by the Académie Royale; his reception piece, *Death of Abel* (Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 2, p. 598, ill.), is evidence of a style both nervous and sensitive. It is remarkable that he specifically wished to exhibit a study head so close to academic exercises. The use of clay endows the subject with a quiver of life, the silky, smooth modeling of the skin contrasting with the vigorous marks of the pointed tool scoring the curling hair with finely hatched lines. Particularly original is the undulating truncation, with its suggestion of the top of the breasts. The tress that sweeps back above the young woman's left ear exposes her delicate face, conveying at the same time a note of disorder in keeping with the subject. The truncated right arm, boldly set forward, then cut off, adds to the dynamism of the whole.

GS



32



Fig. 49
Stouf, *Affliction*, probably
1789, marble. Paris, Musée
du Louvre



Fig. 50
François Baillairgé, after Stouf, *Young
Girl in Affliction*, 1778–81, red chalk and
graphite. Montreal, Musée du Québec

Prizes

33

LUC FRANÇOIS BRETON

Besançon, 1731–Besançon, 1800

Lucius Caecilius Metellus Saving the Palladium

Terracotta, 61.5 × 85 cm (24¼ × 33½ in.)

Inscribed after firing: *LVC Breton.P.P.* [*primo premio*, or first prize] 1758.

Rome, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca (15)

PROVENANCE

Accademia's collections, first inventoried in 1807

EXHIBITION

Rome 2000, no. III.19, ill.

REFERENCES

Lami 1910–11, vol. 1, pp. 129–31; Golzio 1933, p. 31; Golzio 1939, p. 21, no. 15; Riccoboni 1942, p. 315; Boyer 1957, p. 279; Cipriani and Valeriani 1991, pp. 10, 211

The Palladium was a statue of Pallas Athena that was supposed to guarantee the safety of the Trojans. Aeneas conveyed it to Rome, where it was later venerated with great secrecy in the Temple of Vesta. As related by Cicero, Lucius Caecilius Metellus, Roman consul and later dictator, saved the Palladium, that “heaven-sent pledge of our security,” from a fire in 241 B.C. (Cicero, “Speech on Behalf of Marius Aemilius Scauro”); some, but not Cicero, say Metellus was blinded in the process.

The Concorso Clementino was the Accademia's principal competition; established by Pope Clement XI in 1701, it had three categories: painting, sculpture, and architecture. The subject for the sculpture contest was announced several months in advance to allow time for study and preparation. In 1758 the challenging theme for the Concorso was adapted from Cicero: “One must express in low relief the intrepid Metellus Pontifex, as he



was amid the fire which had broken out at night in the temple of Vesta, and how he brought out unharmed the Palladium, which had been given into the custody of the Vestal Virgins, who from fright did not know how to go about protecting this sacred trust from the flames, and the people running in haste were terrified by such a tragic accident, deploring as a certainty the loss from which would proceed the ruin of Rome's fortune" (Rome 2000, p. 101).

In the meantime each participant had to make a trial sketch, "an extemporaneous demonstration to ascertain his true worth" (Golzio 1929, p. 761). In 1758 this consisted of a clay sketch in relief of Tobias and the Archangel (Cipriani and Valeriani 1991, p. 211). Luc François Breton, winner of the first prize in 1758 with the present relief (his trial sketch does not survive), clearly spent the year profitably. His earlier apprenticeship to a wood-carver in Besançon is evident in the admirable control of detail. In Rome he was also employed by Sir William Chambers to copy ancient architectural ornaments. His awareness of the plasticity of architecture perhaps influenced his skillful rendering of the Temple of Vesta's portico here and of the harmonious relationship between the figures and the architectural setting. From left to right we see the Vestals praying for the statue's deliverance; Metellus bursting through the porch with the statue; a fire brigade, in low relief in the distance, heaving barrels of water; awed members of the populace, some cheering the deliverer. Though full of dramatic potential, the subject was seldom if ever attempted. Breton accordingly turned to paintings that feature comparable conflagrations, from Raphael's great fresco *Fire in the Borgo* (1514, Vatican Stanze) to depictions of the Flight from Troy, in which Aeneas carries his aged father, Anchises, through flames and smoke (Federico Barocci, 1598, Rome, Galleria Borghese; Pompeo Batoni, 1748, Lucca, collection of Marchese Poschi-Meuron). Antique quotations are absent from Breton's figures, who assume naturalistic Late Baroque poses. He arranges them against the circular temple's columns with maximum legibility, while achieving fine atmospheric effects such as the smoke billowing across the steps.

A coat of varnish has darkened the buff clay to a leathery brown. Breton scooped out concavities in the back to decrease the clay's thickness before firing.

JDD

34–36

JOSEPH CHINARD

Lyon, 1756–Lyon, 1813

34

Perseus Delivering Andromeda

Terracotta, 31.1 × 14.5 × 14.5 cm (12¼ × 5¾ × 5¾ in.)

Lyon, Musée des Arts Décoratifs (MAD 165)

PROVENANCE

Lyon, Paul Desjardins (1904–9); Joseph Gillet; bequeathed to the museum in 1924

EXHIBITIONS

Lyon 1904, no. 758; Paris 1909–10, no. 3

REFERENCES

Cantinelli 1905, p. 145, ill.; Lami 1910–11, vol. 1, p. 198; Desvernay 1915, pp. 123–24; Rocher-Jauneau 1961, pp. 348–50, fig. 3

35

Perseus Delivering Andromeda

Terracotta, 85 × 39 × 44 cm (33½ × 15¾ × 17¾ in.)

Rome, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca (3)

PROVENANCE

Awarded first prize in the Balestra competition at the Accademia di San Luca, Rome, June 1786; remained in the collections of the academy

EXHIBITIONS

Rome 2000, no. III.27, ill.; Milan 2002, no. v.26, ill.

REFERENCES

Cantinelli 1905, p. 143; Lami 1910–11, vol. 1, p. 198; Brinckmann 1925, pp. 140–41, pl. 78; Mackowsky 1927, pp. 86–88, pl. 22; Golzio 1933, pp. 28–29; Boyer 1957, pp. 285–86; Rocher-Jauneau 1961, pp. 345–48, fig. 2; Golzio 1964, p. 22, ill. p. 67

36

Perseus Delivering Andromeda

Terracotta, group: 38.3 × 19 × 19 cm (15¼ × 7½ × 7½ in.), group with pedestal: 58.6 × 25.4 × 25.4 cm (23¼ × 10 × 10 in.)

Inscribed: on the base of the group: *ESQUISSE DU 1^{er} PRIX*

REMORTE A ROME AU CONCOURS DE L'ANNEE 1786 PAR J. CHINARD

(Sketch of the 1st prize won in Rome in the competition of the year 1786 by J. Chinard); above each figure on the pedestal:

ANDROMÈDE / PERSE[E] / VICTOIRE / NEREIDE / RENOMMÉE / CASSIOPEE / MINERVE (Andromeda / Perseus / Victory / Nereid / Fame / Cassiopeia / Minerva)

Detroit Institute of Arts (1996.32)

PROVENANCE

Sale, Versailles, coll. Marbelle, November 10, 1897, no. 18; Paris, Guillaume de Gontaut-Biron, marquis de Biron (1859–1939), at least from 1909 to 1915 (not sold in the sale of 1914); New York, H. F. Dawson; Jacques Leon Stern; his sale, New York, Parke-Bernet, November 3, 1950, no. 156; New York, Alfred C. Chapin;

Baroness Cassel van Doorn; her sale, New York, Parke-Bernet, December 9, 1955, no. 273; Mrs. William Randolph Hearst; her sale, New York, Sotheby Parke-Bernet, November 29, 1975, no. 91; British Rail Pension Fund; its sale, London, Sotheby's, July 4, 1996, no. 87; acquired by the museum in 1996

EXHIBITION

Paris 1909–10, no. 4, ill.

REFERENCES

Lami 1910–11, vol. 1, p. 198; Desvernay 1915, p. 123; Rocher-Jauneau 1961, pp. 357–58, fig. 8; Darr and Albainy 2000, p. 409, no. XII, ill.

After studying at the École Royale de Dessin in Lyon and working for some years as a sculptor in his native city, Chinard made the trip to Italy with the financial assistance of his patron, chevalier de La Font de Juis, formerly *procureur* of the Bureau des Finances in Lyon. He arrived in Rome in 1784. There he made several copies after the antique, studied in 1786 at the Accademia del Nudo of the Capitol (O. Michel 2000, p. 291), and took part successfully in the Balestra competition held by the Accademia di San Luca. This contest had been set up as the result of a legacy received in 1763 from Carlo Pio Balestra, art lover and honorary member of the academy. Each year a gold medal was to be awarded to the best students in the three arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture. If his conditions were not met, the legacy was to revert to the Académie de France in Rome with the same stipulations. The first competition took place in 1768, following the regulations of the Concorso Clementino, the Accademia's principal competition (see cat. no. 33): the competitors had to supply two works, one on a subject announced a year in advance and the other on a subject to be realized in three hours in the presence of the academy instructors. The sculptors were required to model in clay (see Boyer 1957, pp. 273–74). For the June 1786 contest the subject announced in advance was "Perseus Delivering Andromeda" after Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The subject drawn by lot was at first "Time Unveiling Truth." Chinard and Schadow were judged the winners in the first round, but in the absence of any Italians among the prizewinners there was a last-minute intrigue to hold the trial again. A new subject was proposed: "Hercules and Iole" (Mackowsky 1927, p. 86; Badstübner 1987, p. 358). Chinard, who was good at rapid modeling (in 1794, when he was in prison in Lyon, he created *Innocence Seeking Refuge in the Bosom of Justice*, an allegory that succeeded in swaying the severity of his judges), received first prize. Schadow was relegated to second place, as was Camillo Pacetti. The final results were declared on June 12, 1786 (for the details, see Mackowsky 1927, pp. 85–87). Not since 1771 had a Frenchman been awarded a prize at the Accademia di San Luca. Newspapers at the time (*Giornale delle belle arti* of June 17 and *Journal de Lyon* of June 25) gave extensive coverage to the prize-giving ceremony, in which Chinard had the honor of being driven to the Capitol in a carriage with the French ambassador, Cardinal de Bernis.

The prizewinning terracotta had to remain the property of the Accademia di San Luca. Elected a member of the academy on December 7, 1788, even though he had returned to Lyon the previous year, Chinard was given permission on June 5, 1791, to copy his sculpture (without taking a mold of it). The group was taken to Vincenzo Pacetti's studio to facilitate his work (Boyer 1957, p. 286). A plaster was exhibited in Paris at the Salon of the year VIII (1800), no. 415, where it was noted by a few critics (Landon in the *Journal des arts*, the *Bulletin universel des savants, des lettres et des arts*: "in the Andromeda, grace; in Perseus, nothing of the ideal"; McWilliam, Schuster, and Wrigley 1991, p. 130, no. 632, p. 129, no. 621). It was subsequently deposited with Récamier (Ledoux-Lebard 1947–48, p. 73), a Lyon banker with whom Chinard lived in Paris and whom he had probably known since the end of 1795 or January 1796, the date of his first stay in the capital. This plaster or another—perhaps the one exhibited at the Salon of 1810 (no. 939) where he showed earlier works—was offered by Chinard to Alexandre Lenoir some months before Chinard's death in 1813; it has disappeared.

It was no doubt a sketch of the Roman piece (perhaps cat. no. 34, the terracotta in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Lyon) that Terray, the intendant of Lyon, saw in Chinard's studio on the latter's return from Italy in 1787 and that prompted him to commission a marble version from its author; a letter of 1791 addressed to Chinard, who was then in Rome, gave notice that he wished to take delivery of this. Terray was guillotined in 1793, and the marble remained unfinished in the sculptor's studio. Chinard's widow bequeathed it to the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon (178 × 77 × 82 cm [70½ × 30¾ × 32¼ in.]; Rocher-Jauneau 1978, pp. 15–17, ill.; Lyon 1989–90, pp. 76, 88, no. 22, ill.). In 1791 Chinard made a terracotta slightly smaller than the marble (H. 129 cm [50¾ in.], Diam. 62 cm [24¾ in.]; signed and dated on the rock: *Chinard / Rome / 1791*) and comprising a circular pedestal decorated with reliefs representing the marriage of Perseus and Andromeda, accompanied by single figures (H. 38 cm. [15 in.], Diam. 69 cm [27½ in.]). This group, which Chinard sculpted for himself after revisiting his 1786 terracotta, was bequeathed to the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lyon, which it entered in 1813 (Rocher-Jauneau 1978, pp. 22–23, ill.; Lyon 1989–90, pp. 74–77, 88, no. 23, ill.). The reduction in Detroit, also comprising a historiated pedestal, was probably executed after 1791 for an unknown patron. Although it is described in the inscription as a "sketch," the work is polished and complete in its details, a recollection of a glorious episode in the sculptor's career. Superb in quality, this terracotta is like the others that Chinard executed in an equally meticulous fashion, such as *Venus and Aeneas* (?) (fig. 51), a group apparently contemporary and comparable in style, which is also presented on a pedestal comprising a circular band with a frieze identified by inscriptions ("Paris Abducting Helen,"



34



34 (reverse)



Fig. 51
Chinard, *Venus and Aeneas* (?),
terracotta. Los Angeles County
Museum of Art



Fig. 52
Perseus Delivering Andromeda, ancient marble
relief. Rome, Musei Capitolini



35



35 (reverse)

"Death of Patroclus," "Hector Slain by Achilles"). A plaster of the *Perseus Delivering Andromeda*, with the inscription "*Esquisse du Prix remporté à Rome au cours de l'année 178[?] par J. Chinard*" ("Sketch of the prize won in Rome in the course of the year 178[?] by J. Chinard") but without the historiated pedestal, formed part of the Arnold Seligmann collection (sale, Paris, Galerie Charpentier, June 4–5, 1935, no. 139, ill.); its present whereabouts are unknown, making it impossible to determine the date of its fabrication.

It is possible to propose a chronological listing of the

different copies of this composition to which Chinard was so attached: the sketch in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs of Lyon (cat. no. 34); the Roman terracotta of 1786 (cat. no. 35); the lost plaster of 1791; the terracotta of 1791 and the unfinished marble; and the reduction owned by the Detroit Institute of Arts (cat. no. 36).

The subject is taken from book 4 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Andromeda is bound to a rock and about to be devoured by a sea monster sent by Neptune to retaliate for the statement by her mother Cassiopeia that she herself was more beautiful than the Nereids. She was rescued by

Perseus, son of Jupiter and Danaë, who flew with the winged sandals given to him by Mercury and who turned his enemies to stone by brandishing the head of Medusa, whom he had slain. The episode is illustrated in an antique relief in the collection of Cardinal Alessandro Albani, the famed antiquarian and collector: Perseus, the defeated monster at his feet, helps Andromeda to descend from the rock (fig. 52), a composition also painted at Pompeii (fresco now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples). The relief was well known in the eighteenth century: a version in the Pamphili collection was engraved by Bartoli (Paris 1990, p. 85, fig. 41) and circulated as small bronze plaques by Giacomo (about 1731–1785) or Giovanni (about 1745–1805) Zoffoli (an example signed with the initials GZ is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, U.K.: see London 2002, no. 29, ill.). Chinard was more influenced by this composition than by Puget's group, which he had probably not seen (it stood in the gardens at Versailles; see Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 2, p. 555, ill.). The subject had been treated in Rome by Zauner (plaster, 1777; Worley 1989, fig. 2), Fuseli, and Sergel (drawings: see Worley 1989, fig. 1, and Hamburg 1975, nos. 62–64, ill.), but no doubt without Chinard's knowledge. The work that probably did have a great effect on him was the painting by Anton Raphael Mengs, which was famous in Rome, although it did not remain there long (see Padua and Dresden 2001, p. 244, ill.), especially at the Académie de France, whose director, Joseph-Marie Vien, had followed its progress (Gaetgens and Lugand 1988, pp. 99, 102, fig. 40). Here the painter presented an interpretation of the myth not only marked by references to classical art but also imbued with sweetness and heroic calm. Chinard went further still in this direction: he moved the protagonists closer together and conceived an encounter, a scene of passionate abduction, between Perseus, heated by desire, and Andromeda, languishing and sensual. His interpretation goes well beyond the text distributed to the candidates in 1786: "Having defeated the sea monster and freed Andromeda from the rock, Perseus leads the young girl away in order to marry her as he had been promised before his victory. Joy, modesty, and the wish to celebrate the nuptial bond can be seen in both of them" (Boyer 1957, p. 285). Critics under the Empire were unsympathetic to the work, condemning Andromeda's expression, which "above all accords little with our modern ideas of modesty and propriety" (*Journal des débats*, March 4, 1811, on the Salon of 1810).

The different versions by Chinard have numerous points in common: the two protagonists are nude; Perseus, treading on the dragon, is placed on Andromeda's left; he wears a baldric with an empty scabbard; his left arm crosses his torso in order to support Andromeda's left arm; his right arm holds a sword, and his right arm supports her back as far as just under her right shoulder. In the Lyon sketch Perseus wears a winged helmet (an attri-



36

bute usually reserved for Mercury, the hero's protector). This headgear disappeared in the Roman group and was replaced in the other versions by wings at the temples. Medusa's head, on the ground at the back, evolved from an expressively ugly face in profile into a frontal representation more in keeping with the antique canon (in the reduction in Detroit and especially the Lyon



36 (profile)



36 (reverse)



36 (profile)

marble; Chinard is known to have executed a marble copy after the antique sculpture in the Rondanini collection (recently acquired by the Musée de Malmaison). The back of the 1791 terracotta in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon, is undoubtedly the most brilliant: a large shield decorated with a superb Pegasus takes the place of the rock that is overly prominent in the sketch. The historiated pedestals of the terracottas in Lyon and Detroit (only the latter version includes inscriptions naming the figures) follow the same iconography, though with variations. In the Detroit version the front view shows the union of a veiled Andromeda and Perseus holding hands above a smoking altar, with the victor's helmet placed against it; Andromeda is followed by Minerva brandishing the head of Medusa; Perseus is crowned by Victory. The view from the back shows Fame sounding a double trumpet, flanked by the grieving figures of Cassiopeia and a Nereid. In the Lyon version, the veiled Andromeda and the nude Perseus hold hands above an altar supported by two entwined cupids; Andromeda is followed by a Nereid, Perseus by Cassiopeia; Fame is flanked by Minerva and Victory.

There can be no doubt that terracotta was Chinard's preferred medium. He handles it with incomparable elegance. The protagonists in the Lyon sketch are skillfully placed and rapidly modeled. From the front the accent is on the two nude bodies, very elongated in type, while on the back are a fall of drapery below the shoulders,

a rocky support, and a long-bodied dragon. Variations in technique are evident: tool marks have been erased on the smooth flesh, which contrasts with the droplet-like hair or the incised folds of the draperies. The treatment of the back is especially free, with regular scoring of the rock (made by a pointed tool) and broad handling of the fabric folds. The Accademia di San Luca group is, of course, a finished, much larger piece. A coating of color renders the surface uniform. The back in particular is carefully worked: the superb dragon and Medusa head repay the viewer's attention. This is a virtuosic work, which combines the elements of a competition (or reception) piece: accomplishment in the study of the nude, effective handling of the drapery fall, convincing incorporation of secondary elements (animals, rock, chain), and vivid expressiveness (male determination, female surrender). The Detroit reduction, which was given a bronze-colored coating before 1897, is less powerful but more refined. The modeling of the flesh is extremely delicate, with some light scratchings to indicate the texture of the skin. This is perhaps the most sensual of all the versions, the one in which Andromeda yields herself with the greatest abandon. The back, again with Medusa and a dragon, is a marvel of virtuosity. The execution is very finished, with an abundance of plastic contrasts: smooth flesh, scored rocks, superb figures sketched on the pedestal, modeled with the point of the tool on a lightly striated ground. GS

FRENCH (?)

last quarter of eighteenth century

Perseus Delivering Andromeda

Terracotta, 43 × 24.5 × 21.5 cm (16⅞ × 9⅝ × 8½ in.)

Bayonne, Musée Bonnat (CM 400/1)

PROVENANCE

Paris, Paul Cailleux (1884–1964), before 1934; acquired by the museum in 1983

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1934, no. 108 (Chinard); Copenhagen 1935, no. 611 (Chinard); Paris 1973a, no. 53, ill. (Chinard); Paris 1990, no. 54, ill. (Schadow)

REFERENCES

Réau 1936, fig. 22 (Chinard); Fleming 1957, p. 7, fig. 9 (Chinard); Rocher-Jauneau 1961, pp. 350–52, fig. 4 (Chinard); *FRAM* 1985, p. 120, no. 509, ill. (Chinard); Worley 1989, ill. (attributed to Schadow); Scherf 1993a, pp. 334–38, ill. (attributed to Schadow); Claudia Czok in Düsseldorf, Nuremberg, and Berlin 1994–95, p. 238 (Schadow with reservations)

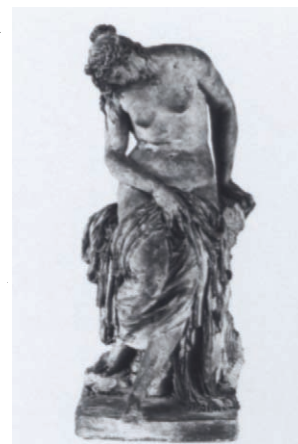
This work was long attributed to Joseph Chinard, through association with the terracotta for which he was awarded first prize in 1786 in the Balestra competition at the Accademia di San Luca in Rome (cat. no. 35). In 1961 Madeleine Rocher-Jauneau suggested it was the first sketch for Chinard's group. Yet this composition—with Perseus placed on Andromeda's right—is quite different from that of Chinard, and its style is far removed from his: the solid female body is the opposite of the slender type that he favored.

These stylistic differences led Michael Preston Worley (1989) to suggest an attribution to Johann Gottfried Schadow, who won second prize in the 1786 competition.

Worley's argument is based on a drawing by Schadow (Berlin, Neue Nationalgalerie; Worley 1989, fig. 6) and a medal by Johann Karl Fischer issued by the Berlin academy for Schadow's seventieth birthday (fig. 53; Mackowsky 1927, p. 88, pl. 23), after a terracotta that is now lost (Claudia Czok in Düsseldorf, Nuremberg, and Berlin 1994–95, p. 238). The present terracotta, however, corresponds to neither the drawing nor the medal. Its only link with Schadow's work lies in the choice of subject, which was popular at the time. Examples include the group by Zauner, who like Schadow attended the Trippel academy in Rome (plaster, 1777, Vienna, Österreichische Galerie Belvedere; Worley 1989, fig. 2); that by Cortés done in Rome (terracotta, 1788, Madrid, Museo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando; Azcue Brea 1994, p. 332, ill.); and the drawing by Dannecker (about 1790, Städtisches Museum Ludwigsburg; Gauss in Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 2, no. z18, ill.). Neither the arrangement of the protagonists (with a standing Cupid—now headless—at the back) nor the style supports an attribution of the present terracotta to Schadow, a suggestion, moreover, that is currently rejected by most experts (see cat. no. 98).

This discussion in no way detracts from the astonishing sculptural quality of the present work, which conveys an exceptional passion. The artist has modeled the clay powerfully, alert to expressive extremes: the energy of Perseus and the modest, almost reluctant abandon of Andromeda, still dazed by the trials she has undergone. The two bodies are treated differently. Perseus has a rough-looking surface, with traces of clay strips, which have been juxtaposed and barely flattened with thumb and spatula; by contrast Andromeda's nude skin has been finely smoothed to efface every tool mark. The vigorous modeling of the hair and the draperies, with carefully defined folds where a pointing tool was probably used to dig out and cut into the clay, emphasizes virtuosic

Fig. 53
French (?), *Andromeda* (?),
last quarter of the 18th century,
terracotta. Abbaye
de Chaalis, Musée
Jacquemart-André





37 (reverse)



37

contrasts. The sculptor multiplies secondary elements—the shield, the hilt of the sword, the helmet—and subtle details in order to animate the many surfaces of the work, from the fine locks of hair to the slabs of clay scored in parallel grooves for the rocks and the regular horizontal lines of the base. This evocative power and broadly sketched manner can be found in two statuettes formerly attributed to Marin (Quinquenet 1948, pp. 70–71:

“Two Seated Women Weeping”), which are undoubtedly by the same hand: one might represent Andromeda (fig. 53; Scherf 1993a, pp. 335–36, figs. 9, 10).

This work formed part of the important collection of terracottas owned by the dealer and appraiser Paul Cailleux, which was shown several times in Paris (from 1934 to 1973) in the course of memorable exhibitions.

GS



38

RICHARD WESTMACOTT

London, 1775–London, 1856

Jacob Confiding Benjamin to Judah

Terracotta, 56 × 92 cm (22 × 36¼ in.)

Rome, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca (9)

PROVENANCE

Accademia's collections, first inventoried in 1807

EXHIBITION

Rome 2000, no. III.32, ill.

REFERENCES

Golzio 1933, p. 31; Golzio 1939, p. 33, no. 9; Gunnis 1953, pp. 423–24; Honour 1963, p. 374; Penny 1975, p. 121; Cipriani and Valeriani 1991, pp. 175, 213; Busco 1994, pp. 8–9, ill., and p. 172 n. 30

The subject for the Accademia di San Luca's Concorso Clementino of 1795 was described as follows: "One must express the good old Jacob at the moment when he confides his dear Benjamin to Judah, recommending him to God in order that his return be guaranteed as well



Fig. 54

Luigi Melis, *Jacob Confiding Benjamin to Judah*, 1795, terracotta. Rome, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca

as that of the other son Simeon who is imprisoned in Egypt. Benjamin, embracing the father weeping for having to leave him; the other brothers round about assuring the father that in one way or another they will bring him freed from Egypt. Familiars may be introduced.”

The text paraphrases Dom Augustin Calmet’s gloss on the Bible, *Commentaire littéral sur tous les livres de l’Ancien et du Nouveau Testament*, which, first appearing in twenty-six volumes in 1707–16, reached many editions; this episode, discussed in Calmet’s volume 1, book 1, is taken from Genesis (42–45), which is as concerned with lineage as it is with narrative. The story does not emerge clearly without aid such as Calmet’s and was never illustrated as often as other stories of Jacob and Joseph. Benjamin was Jacob’s youngest son, by his beloved Rachel, and in a time of famine Jacob’s sons set forth to Egypt to buy grain, insisting on taking Benjamin with them.

It happens that all three prize reliefs from 1795 survive (their trial sketches of Mary Magdalen and the Angels at the Sepulcher do not; Cipriani and Valeriani 1991, p. 213). Richard Westmacott won first prize with this relief. Luigi Melis won second, and Giovanni Battista Comolli came in third. The reliefs by Melis and Comolli are dry academic efforts with melodramatic gesticulations (for them, see Cipriani in Rome 2000, nos. III.33, III.34, ill.); it suffices to reproduce Melis’s scene, its figures semiclad in cloth sheets as if fresh from the bath (fig. 54). It is less easy to assess Comolli’s because of damage.

Westmacott’s relief is remarkable for its harmonious movements. The patriarch at center is distinguished by his bloomers and the slight elevation of his chair. Judah to the right lays hold of the reluctant Benjamin before leading him away. All the sons (and the maidens at the right in lower relief, who may constitute an early reappraisal of Ghiberti’s dainty manner in the *Gates of Paradise*, as in the *Story of Joseph* [Krautheimer 1970, vol. 2, pl. 101a]) are presented in near isocephalism. Lining up the heads horizontally this way was no doubt a result of Westmacott’s keen observation of Roman imperial relief sculpture, also evident in the generous, well-managed draperies (see Oppermann 1985). The Englishman also enters wholeheartedly into contemporary Italian knowhow in fashioning draperies; his are not unlike sheets of pasta. The curtain at rear enframes the group and suggests tenting, cleverly underscoring the tribal character of the whole.

The clay is golden in tone. The back is filled with plaster.

JDD

Morceaux de Réception

39

PHILIPPE-LAURENT ROLAND

Pont-à-Marc (Nord), 1746–Paris, 1816

The Death of Cato of Utica

Terracotta, 22 × 27 × 13 cm (8½ × 10½ × 5½ in.)
Paris, Musée du Louvre (RF976)

PROVENANCE

Maurice collection, sale, Paris, February 2–3, 1835, no. 271; the painter Jules Boilly, sale, Paris, March 19, 1869 (possibly inherited from his father, the painter Louis-Léopold Boilly, who was, like Roland, a native of northern France); gift of Dr. Worms to the museum, 1894

EXHIBITIONS

Montauban 1989, no. 35, ill.; Paris 1989, no. 400, ill.; Paris 2002, no. 18, ill.

REFERENCES

Nicolle 1898, pp. 223–24; Michel and Vitry 1907, no. 1062; Lami 1910–11, vol. 2, p. 299; Scherf in Musée du Louvre 1992, p. 84; Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 2, p. 570, ill.; West 1998, pp. 26–27, ill.

Philippe-Laurent Roland, some of whose earlier works proclaim a striking individuality (cat. nos. 24, 25), for years remained aloof from the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture. On March 2, 1782, his mentor Augustin Pajou presented him to the academy at the ripe age of thirty-six as an “aspiring sculptor.” (For Pajou’s oddly patronizing recommendations of Roland, see Draper 1999, p. 545). According to Quatremère de Quincy, writing long after the fact, Roland’s *morceau d’agrément* for the academy was “a figure of Cato of Utica, for which he made studies on an enlarged scale, fortunately a scale larger than nature, because that was the only way he could convince them that they were not taken from the living model” (Quatremère de Quincy 1834b, pp. 106–7). A bronze *Death of Cato*, after a model about three times the size of this (62 × 97 × 45 cm [24¾ × 38½ × 17¾ in.]), with many refinements in detail, was cast in 1873 for the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lille (Scherf in Musée du Louvre 1992, p. 84, fig. 25a). Roland’s actual *morceau de réception* would have been *Samson Shaking the Column of the Temple of the Philistines*. The academy approved the model in 1783, but he tarried and did not finish the marble until after the academy’s suppression in 1793. *Samson* appeared in the Salon of 1795 and was sold the following year (the only remaining trace is apparently a wax head in the Louvre: Scherf in Musée du Louvre 1992, pp. 84–86, no. 25, ill.).



39

The suicide of Marcus Porcius Cato offered the artist one of the grislier deathbed scenes. In 46 B.C., at the age of fifty-nine, the republican tribune Cato was holed up in the African town of Utica as his inveterate enemy Julius Caesar approached with his forces. After bathing

and spending an evening with his dinner guests defending Stoic philosophy, Cato retired and demanded his sword. According to Plutarch, he read twice through Plato's "Dialogue on the Soul" (probably the *Phaedo*, which recounts the final hours of Socrates and argues for the

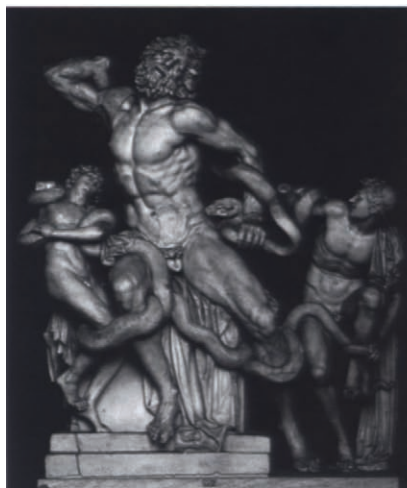


Fig. 55
Roman copy of a
Greek original,
Laocoon, marble.
Vatican City,
Musei Vaticani



Fig. 56
Drouais, *Reclining Soldier*,
about 1785–88, graphite.
Rennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts

immortality of the soul), then slept a little. Plutarch continues, Roland following with fair precision:

When Butas [an attendant] had returned and reported that all was quiet about the ports, Cato, bidding him close the door, threw himself on the bed as if he were going to sleep for the rest of the night. When Butas had gone out, he drew the sword and thrust it beneath his chest, but as he used his hand with less effect owing to the inflammation [brought about when he struck a slave who had hesitated to bring him the weapon earlier in the night], he did not immediately despatch himself, and having some difficulty in dying he fell from the bed and made a noise by overturning a little abacus of the geometrical kind that stood by, which his attendants perceiving called out and his son and his friends immediately ran in. Seeing him smeared with blood and the greater part of his bowels protruding, though he was still alive and his eyes were open, they were all dreadfully alarmed, and the physician going up to him attempted to replace his bowels, which remained uninjured, and to sew up the wound. But when Cato recovered and saw this, he pushed the physician away, and tearing the bowels with his hands and at the same time rending the wound he died. (*Plutarch's Lives*, trans. Aubrey Stewart and George Long, vol. 3 [London, 1881], p. 572)

Roland exerts himself to match or even surpass Plutarch's drama, inviting his spectators to play the part of Butas, coming onto the chaotic scene upon opening the door or rather parting the curtains as on a stage. A tragedy on the subject, Joseph Addison's *Cato*, was rapturously received in England in 1713, when it was understood to espouse constitutional freedom, and was also a success in France, where Voltaire praised it. Roland provides the theatrical props required by Plutarch. The odd tablet by Cato's left foot is his fallen abacus. Cato has finished reading the books which have slipped to the floor. An antiquarian friend must have pointed out this lapse (codices are believed to have begun replacing scrolls only in the first century A.D.); the final version, represented by the bronze in Lille, accordingly has scrolls, not books.

A male nude enacting an ancient deed in a tortured athletic pose was the time-honored choice for a debut before the academy. Judged critically from every point of view, it not only had to be dramatic and eye-catching but also had to show both verisimilitude and a measure of decorum. Thus Cato, at the onset of his agony, has not yet pulled out his innards. An academic applicant was expected to turn to the past for guidance. Roland's essential borrowing is from the *Laocoon* (fig. 55). Roland has reversed the title character of the ancient group and turned it on its side. In the outstretched arm convulsively clutching the bedclothes, Roland responded particularly to the forms of the Trojan priest's raised arm (this

exquisitely muscled limb is pure restoration). He may also have reached back to Charles Le Brun's half-length tableau of 1646, for the intimacy of presentation (Musée d'Arras; see Versailles 1963, no. 9, ill.). For the graceful arrangement of the legs, however, Roland consulted the school of Raphael (in this context see fig. 56, a suggestive drawing by Jean-Germain Drouais after Polidoro da Caravaggio; Rennes 1985, no. 356, ill.).

In turn, it is very likely that Pierre-Narcisse Guérin considered Roland's precedent when painting the masterpiece that won him the first Grand Prix de Rome in 1794 (École des Beaux-Arts, Paris; Paris, Detroit, and New York 1974–75, no. 93, ill.). In it the well-ordered clutter of Greco-Roman objects on the floor particularly recalls Roland.

It remains fascinating to see Roland combining his unhappy subject with a buoyant facture, pulling and squeezing the buff clay into writhing action. The Late Baroque spirit would be chastened into a more Neoclassical form in the final model (represented by the Lille cast mentioned above), which has a more horizontal emphasis and in which the couch and bedclothes are clarified. The lower back of the terracotta, showing evenly shaped walls, is open for easy handling. JDD

40

PHILIPP JAKOB SCHEFFAUER

Stuttgart, 1756–Stuttgart, 1808

Meleager

Terracotta, 94.7 × 39.2 × 28.5 cm (37¼ × 15¾ × 11¼ in.)
Inscribed on the base, below the tree trunk: *Scheffauer f. t. / a Rome*
Toulouse, Musée des Augustins (49.6.113)

PROVENANCE

Seized under the Revolution from the collections of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture de Toulouse, 1795; transferred from the Musée Saint-Raymond to the Musée des Augustins, 1949

EXHIBITIONS

Toulouse 1953, no. 275; Stuttgart 1987a, no. 1102, ill.; Stuttgart 1993, no. 33, fig. 103; Toulouse 2002, no. 48, ill.

REFERENCES

Lucas 1795, no. 53; Du Mège 1828, no. 530; Roschach 1865, no. 889E; Robert Mesuret in Toulouse 1968, p. 39; Hübinger 1987, pp. 49–52, figs. 3–5; Champion 1998, p. 243, no. 521, ill.

This is Philipp Jakob Scheffauer's reception piece for the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture of Toulouse. From 1783 to 1785 the artist studied in Paris with Augustin Pajou, whose 1767 reception piece for the Toulouse academy was the glory of its collections (see Paris and New York 1997–98, pp. 100–10). In Rome from



25, 1790, he mentions his “new rank of academicien of Toulouse” (Holst in Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 1, no. D24).

The organization of the Toulouse academy, established in 1750 by letters patent of Louis XV, was based on that of the Paris academy: each potential member had to supply a reception piece. The academy organized exhibitions beginning in 1751, and in 1769 a room was opened to house the works of its artists. Often these were prestigious figures and members of the Paris academy (apart from Pajou, the sculptors included Lemoyne and Houdon). It was rare, however, in France under the ancien régime for a foreign sculptor to become an academy member: the best-known example is the Swede Johann Tobias Sergel, who was admitted to the Académie Royale in Paris in 1779 (see cat. nos. 17–18).

Executed during his time in Rome, this work is an ingenious assemblage of classical models. The general composition of an adolescent male nude in a markedly contrapposto pose (with the weight on his right leg), his left arm placed on a support, recalls that of the *Apollo Sauroctonus* from the Borghese collection (now in the Louvre; Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 151–53, no. 9, fig. 78). The head of curls, on the other hand, derives from the Capitoline *Antinous* (Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 143–44, no. 5, fig. 74). Scheffauer’s intention was thus to distance himself from the best-known representation of Meleager, that in the Museo Pio Clementino in the Vatican (fig. 57; Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 263–64, no. 60, fig. 137), from which he took only the head of the Calydonian boar, placed as a trophy on a tree trunk. The young man sculpted by the German artist is less triumphant than the classical version in the Vatican: while the latter is an image of victory, with head held high and fluttering draperies, Scheffauer’s Meleager is pensive, his head inclined as if he had a premonition of his destiny (his short life would soon end). In addition, his body is

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1785 to 1789, he met the Toulouse sculptor Bernard Lange, who in 1789 made a portrait medallion of him (Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe). These two encounters no doubt introduced the German Scheffauer to the Toulouse academy (otherwise he had no personal links with the French city). It is not known when the work arrived in Toulouse, and Scheffauer himself probably did not accompany it. In a letter of June



Fig. 57
Roman copy of a
Greek original,
Meleager, marble.
Vatican City,
Musei Vaticani

rather that of an ephebe than an adult. A drawing by Scheffauer of about 1788 representing Winter (Stuttgart 1987a, vol. 1.2, no. 1101.7, ill.) is analogous to the composition of his *Meleager* (the face resting on his left arm, which is bent double with the elbow placed on a support, his right arm hanging free along his body, the weight in his contrapposto pose borne on his right leg).

Can one discern Canova's influence in the Toulouse statue (Hübinger 1987, pp. 49–50)? The Venetian artist had been settled in Rome since 1781, and his fame was quickly established. No doubt Scheffauer knew his *Theseus, Victor over the Minotaur*, in which Theseus appears thoughtful and as if overwhelmed by his victory (1781–83; marble, London, Victoria and Albert Museum; Pavanello 1976, pp. 91–92, no. 21, pl. 111). Canova's approach to classical sources, reinterpreting the subjects and using live models, could have left its mark on Scheffauer. The latter's art must also be compared with that of his compatriot Johann Heinrich Dannecker; they were in Paris and Rome together. The physical type of

Scheffauer's *Meleager*, rounded and somewhat short of limb, is close to that of Dannecker's *Bacchus*, made in Rome in 1788 for Charles Eugene, duke of Württemberg, one of the four statues of the Seasons undertaken by the two sculptors (marble, Schloss Ludwigsburg; Stuttgart 1987a, vol. 1.2, no. 1101.3, ill.).

The work has a high degree of finish. The sculptor wanted the surface of his reception piece to rival that of polished marble: no trace here of a tool or of virtuoso modeling. There are refined contrasts: the commalike curls of hair incised in the clay are countered by the boar's bristles; the beautiful drapery with its large folds sets off the fine grooves on the tree trunk. The statue has suffered from the passage of time. Some pieces of drapery are missing, breaking the continuous lateral fall of the folds; on the right hand the third finger and the tip of the index finger are missing; and several coats of color (red ocher, pale ocher) have been applied on mended breaks. GS

Reference to the Antique

Neoclassical artists obviously received their impressions of antiquity from classical literature and archaeological remains. The literary record is the more complete, the archaeological remnant being more haphazard. At the Académie Royale's École des Élèves Protégés, for example, beginning sculptors were encouraged to bring the two into concordance; they were obliged to read the ancients as well as to emulate their forms. Rare spirits such as Flaxman might teach himself Greek as well as Latin. Successful artists such as Pajou and Canova owned important libraries, but the majority surely worked from translations and abridged versions.¹

Surviving ancient sculptures, on the other hand, were consulted directly, above all in Italy. Rome's principal holdings were in the Vatican, successively built up by pontiffs who were often directly involved in acquisition, in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, and in princely collections, many open to artists. Naples grew increasingly important with the digs at Herculaneum and the relocation of the Farnese treasures from Rome, beginning in 1787. In Florence, from 1769 on, the grand-ducal collections were enriched by transfers from the Villa Medici in Rome.

Foreign capitals had not yet built up significant holdings of antiquities except for Paris, where the heterogeneous royal collections were later vastly augmented by the notorious but short-lived annexations for the Musée Napoléon in the 1790s and by purchases from the Borghese family in 1807.

Most talented sculptors made at least one journey to Italy, but the majority were unable to revisit the peninsula and so relied on several tools to help their memories. Most important were their own notations, drawings of ancient sculptures from diverse angles, sometimes with measurements. And by the end of the eighteenth century there was also a thriving trade in engravings and illustrated books dedicated to antiquities. Practically every national academy had its collection of plaster casts of classical statuary. Replicas and reductions also circulated in bronze and porcelain, comprising a wealth of didactic material for artists as well as connoisseurs.

The great tradition of classifying ancient art is customarily said to have begun with Johann Joachim Winckelmann, an impoverished Saxon scholar who moved to Rome and became librarian to Cardinal

Alessandro Albani and, under Clement XIII, prefect of papal antiquities. Winckelmann was above all a superb describer of works of art. In his richly informed *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums*,² he was the first to distinguish original works among the plethora of ancient copies with modern restorations. He also traced the development of Greek sculpture which, he taught, was humankind's supreme artistic achievement, from its primitive origins. In reality, the eighteenth century was familiar with only a fraction of the primitive Greek and Etruscan art we know today, and the embrace of the primitive was in fact to be a nineteenth-century phenomenon. As influential as Winckelmann was in intellectual circles, it is unlikely that he was read in depth by most artists. Of more direct use for them were the engraved plates in easily consulted compendia and the texts of collection catalogues. Somewhat later the invaluable line engravings in the comte de Clarac's *Musée de sculpture antique et moderne*³ were reused and greatly expanded in Salomon Reinach's *Répertoire*.⁴ Finally, we have today the indispensable Haskell and Penny, whose *Taste and the Antique*⁵ treats ninety-four of the most famous ancient sculptures, recounting their sometimes hazardous journeys and their critical fortunes as well as discussing the often startlingly varied interpretations given them by leading antiquarian lights over the centuries. These books constitute a great benefaction for art historians with our inexhaustible delight in tracking artists' derivations of designs and motifs from prototypes. As to the delicate question of imitating, the sculptors under discussion in our catalogue would not mind being caught at it, provided they did not seem to be merely copying. See, for example, Canova's defensive preparations against attack if his statue of Napoleon's mother was to be viewed as adhering too closely to the most celebrated of ancient seated figures, the so-called

Agrippina of the Capitoline (cat. no. 47). A time-honored way for dealing with such borrowings was to review many sources and take a bit of the most beautiful from several. Clodion's *Flood* is a perfect example of archaeological eclecticism (cat. no. 108), an approach that confirmed the sculptor's shrewdness. It would have been understood that he chose from among the best so as to arrive at an ideal end, as if the cumulative effect of ancient art were more powerfully compelling than its parts. When this respect for antiquity was combined with that "truth to nature" achieved by skilled draftsmanship or accurate modeling, the result was the universally recommended beau idéal.

Neoclassical artists' abiding passion for the revelations of Greco-Roman antiquity cannot be overestimated. In 1793, at the height of the Revolution back home, Jacques-Edme Dumont wrote from Rome to his mother in Paris of "the sublimity of [antique statuary's] beauty" and of his "astonishment that men could have made things of such great beauty and of such great truth."⁶ The compelling search for sublime truthfulness that is the hallmark of Neoclassicism led many sculptors like Dumont to consult the Greco-Roman past repeatedly. The ancient works gave them aesthetic consolation, formal guidance, and finally professional vindication inasmuch as they felt themselves part of an ongoing classical continuum. JDD

1. For French painters, as for sculptors of painterly reliefs, Caylus (1757) would have been a useful resource for details such as costume.
2. Winckelmann 1764.
3. Clarac 1826–53.
4. Reinach 1897–1924.
5. Haskell and Penny 1981.
6. Vattier 1890, p. 52.

BARTOLOMEO CAVACEPPI

Rome, 1716–Rome, 1799

Molossian Dog

Terracotta, H. 37 cm (14½ in.)
Rome, Museo di Palazzo Venezia (PV 13258)

PROVENANCE

Studio of the artist, Rome; Marchese Giovanni Torlonia, by 1802; Evangelista Gorga, Rome, 1900; his bequest to the Italian state, 1948

EXHIBITIONS

Rome 1994, no. 15, ill.; Philadelphia and Houston 2000, no. 122, ill.

REFERENCES

Howard 1982, p. 55; Gasparri and Ghiandoni 1993, p. 280

The Molossian, a formidable mastiff-like hound named after a tribe in ancient Epirus, was prized in antiquity as a hunter and guardian of flocks and houses. Several Roman marble copies after a Hellenistic original exist, and Cavaceppi modeled this after the best of them, which he himself restored and which is now in the British Museum (Cavaceppi 1768–72, vol. 1, pl. 6; see also London 1983, no. 22, ill.). He sold the statue to Henry Constantine



Jennings, an Englishman visiting Rome between 1748 and 1756, and the marble has since been known as the “Jennings Dog,” even though it was owned by the Duncombes of Duncombe Park in Yorkshire from 1778 until the recent sale to the British Museum. Jennings himself referred to it as the “Dog of Alcibiades,” the latter being the headstrong pupil of Socrates and future general who, for sport, according to Plutarch (*Alcibiades* 9), cut off the tail of his own dog of “wonderful size and beauty.” Cavaceppi attributed the original to no less a sculptor than Phidias. His reduction of the alert beast is quite faithful, demonstrating his wonted care for detail and differentiation of surfaces. Yet the terracotta was valued at only one and a half scudi in the list of Cavaceppi’s works drawn up in 1802 prior to their eventual acquisition by Marchese Torlonia (Gasparri and Ghiandoni 1993, p. 280).

Cavaceppi also copied the dog in plaster, recorded in a 1799 inventory (Maria Giulia Barberini in Rome 1994, p. 100), and made a marble for Count Sigismondo Chigi that was probably based on that plaster (see Petrucci 1998, p. 80, docs. 94–96). Barberini surmises that the traces of white remaining on this pale buff terracotta could mean that molds were taken from it for decorative purposes (in Rome 1994, p. 100).

JDD

42

LUC FRANÇOIS BRETON

Besançon, 1731–Besançon, 1800

Cicero

Terracotta, on a quadrangular support in clay finished with plaster, 64 × 53 × 34 cm (25¼ × 20⅞ × 13⅜ in.)

Inscribed on the back: *Breton / sequanus*

Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d’Archéologie (849.35.18)

PROVENANCE

Commissioned by the attorneys’ association of Besançon for their library and placed in the library—then housed in the convent of the Grands Carmes—after 1771; given to the commune with the property of the library on December 1, 1790 (handwritten inventory of the library of the attorneys’ association, gifts to the commune, December 1, 1790; Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 1275, fol. 59); mentioned in a list of works in the École de Dessin, September 19, 1814 (Besançon, Archives Municipales, 2R4, no. 36); later in the École des Beaux-Arts and from there to the Musée des Beaux-Arts in 1849, with the contents of the artist’s studio

REFERENCES

Lancrenon 1850, p. 87, no. 406; Castan 1891, p. 231; Gauthier 1899, p. 673, no. 18; Lami 1910–11, vol. 1, p. 132; Cornillot 1940, pp. 46, 106, 121; Besançon 1994–95, p. 81, fig. 51

This bust was commissioned from Luc Breton following his return from Rome in 1771 by the Besançon attorneys’ association. He proudly signed it *sequanus*, the Latin for an inhabitant of the Franche-Comté. The work was a tribute to his paternal uncle and godfather, a lawyer with whom he had lived after his mother’s death (Cornillot 1940, pp. 15–16) and whose sole heir he was in 1770 (Cornillot 1940, p. 32). The 1790 library inventory lists it as follows: “the bust of Cicero in clay is placed in a niche above the stove the edges of which are decorated with sculpture, with a panel also of sculpture on either side.” The great orator featured in virtually every series of illustrious men that embellished learned libraries at the time.

The work was not hollowed out before firing and therefore has a considerable network of cracks. Its recent restoration has revealed the now blotchy presence of a fine, translucent, orange-yellow patina on the yellow-

other terracotta. This first coating was subsequently covered with paint and wax to mask old plugs and repairs. One must suppose, therefore, that the bust originally respected the color of the terracotta and was not rendered black like the then-fashionable representations of famous men turned out by the Wedgwood factory. To cite a contemporary example in the vicinity of Besançon: in 1788 Edward Gibbon's library in Lausanne was decorated with a series of eight small Wedgwood busts in black Basalte ware representing antique writers (one of them a draped Cicero) paired with English authors (Musée Historique de Lausanne, on deposit at the Musée National Suisse, Château de Prangins).

Breton's bust is not a literal copy of an antique Cicero but a personal re-creation. The most celebrated classical image identified as Cicero is the marble in the Uffizi (fig. 58; Mansuelli 1961, no. 34, ill.). Several antique versions of this are known including that in the Farnese collection, now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale,

Naples, but still in Rome when Breton was there. This antique bust was much copied, as in the bronze by Soldani in the Liechtenstein collections (New York 1985–86, p. 91, ill.), in versions by Wedgwood, and in versions with light variations (marble signed by Cavaceppi in the Palazzo del Paradiso, Ferrara; Bregenz and Vienna 1968–69, p. 97, fig. 326).

In the Uffizi head, as often, Cicero is represented with a triangular face, sparse hair, knitted brows, blank eyes, and wrinkles (especially on the forehead). This head's severity is underscored by the nude truncation, with no hint of clothing. The great man is shown as older in the busts exhibited at the Museo Chiaramonti in the Vatican (nude version) or in Rome at the Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo (draped version), to cite only two examples. Breton could also have known interpretations such as that of Rubens, which was engraved, in which the head of the "young" Cicero is placed on a draped bust, or an eighteenth-century work like the plaster by John Cheere

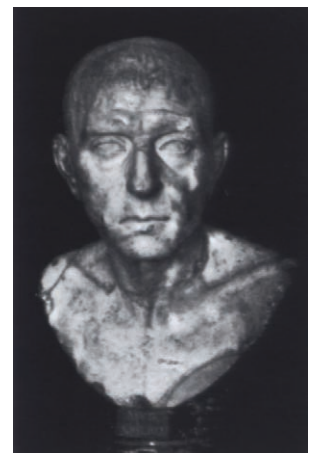


Fig. 58
Roman, *Cicero*, marble. Florence,
Galleria degli Uffizi

(about 1745; City Museum, Leeds Museum and Galleries), a draped bust that shows Cicero with head bent (Leeds, London, and Edinburgh 2000–2001, p. 9, ill.).

The sculptor drew inspiration from a vast iconographic corpus at his disposal, but his interpretation of Cicero is in fact altogether original: in his terracotta the Roman's fine, alert head with its blank eyes (following the portrait tradition of the Roman republic) and half-open lips rests firmly on his torso, turning determinedly to his left; this lively attitude adds tension to the whole visage, especially marked in the neck. The sober draping is magnificently conceived as two superimposed pieces of material, very different from antique models, although alluding to their style.

GS

43

CLAUDE MICHEL, CALLED CLODION

Nancy, 1738–Paris, 1814

Minerva

Terracotta, 45.7 × 20.3 × 14 cm (18 × 8 × 5½ in.)

Inscribed on the back of the mantle: *Clodion / in Roma / 1766*
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1975.312.6)

PROVENANCE

Given that other Minerva statuettes by Clodion are known, the lack of illustrations and informative data in the earlier sale references makes it uncertain that all listings in the traditional provenance, as presented by Anne Poulet (in Paris 1992a, pp. 23–24 n. 50), refer to the present work; there are some discrepancies, not in her cataloguing but among the various sale catalogues. With that caveat we repeat Poulet's list with few changes: Jacques-Onésyme Bergeret, sale, Paris, April 4, 1786, no. 356; bought by Letoffé but said by Portalis (1889, p. 260) to have been bought back by Bergeret's son; Bataille de Francès de Montval, sale, Paris, January 8, 1828, no. 279; Guillaume Schrockner, sale, Paris, January 21–22, 1830, no. 90; Evrard Rhoné, sale, Paris, May 13–18, 1861, no. 526; Arthur Rhoné; Lucien Sauphar by 1911, sale, Paris, Galerie Jean Charpentier, March 17, 1936; sale, Paris, Galerie Charpentier, December 6, 1952, no. 68; purchased by the Museum in New York with funds from the Charles Ulrick and Josephine Bay Foundation, Inc. Gift, 1975

EXHIBITIONS

New York 1976, no. 3, ill.; New York 1984, no. 2

REFERENCES

Portalis 1889, p. 260; Lami 1910–11, vol. 2, p. 144; Poulet 1989, p. 143, ill.; Draper 1991, pp. 90–91, ill.; Draper 1991–92, pp. 16–17, ill.; Poulet in Paris 1992a, pp. 23–24, 27, 53, 77, 293, 316, 433, 461; Scherf 1992, pp. 7–8, ill.



43

The Roman deity Minerva (the Greek Pallas Athena) had multifold roles in antiquity that may today sound contradictory. She was the virgin goddess of wisdom, of war, and of the liberal arts. Neoclassical artists mainly knew her image in its more bellicose Roman form. Poulet (in Paris 1992a, p. 124) analyzes Clodion's inspirations, especially the Vatican's severe *Giustiniani Minerva* and the more girlish features adapted from those of another ancient marble, the *Ludovisi Minerva* (Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome), which had been extensively remodeled by Alessandro Algardi (Montagu 1985, vol. 1, pp. 13, 14, figs. 12, 13). Poulet also cites Greek marble statuettes that were owned by Clodion's uncle Lambert-Sigisbert Adam (Poulet in Paris 1992a, p. 24). Clodion, who must have known his Homer, would have been aware that the Greek Athena was capable of mischief as well as of kindness, hence the rather sly smile which became the signature expression of his many nymphs and bacchantes and which may appear at variance with the goddess's militant stance and garb (for the imagery and apparel of Athena-Minerva, see Heintze and Hager 1961 and excellent articles in Deacy and Villing 2001). The statuette's right hand would have a more effectual appearance if it still steadied the spear which is missing.

The model helped establish Clodion's success, as indicated by near-replicas. Another terracotta, apparently signed and dated identically, was on the Paris market in 1996 (see *L'estampille/ L'objet d'art*, no. 305 [September 1996], p. 81). Minor differences include just one strap inside the shield instead of two. If a 1930 sale catalogue is to be believed, he dated another 1795, its shield again having two straps (property of Madame C., sold Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, May 12, 1930, no. 47, said to be from the cabinet Evrard, but this may well be the present terracotta, misdated).

The buff clay is worked throughout with Clodion's habitual charm of expression, as in the scaling and fluting of Minerva's leather aegis, a breastplatelike accessory that bears the head of the Gorgon Medusa. Particularly exciting is another Medusa head incised on the outside of the shield which has all the punch of a drawing by Salvator Rosa. Minor losses have been retouched with matching pigment.

JDD



43 (detail)

CLAUDE MICHEL, CALLED CLODION

Nancy, 1738–Paris, 1814

Cato of Utica

Terracotta, 39.5 × 10.5 × 10 cm (15½ × 4¼ × 4 in.)

Inscribed on the parchment scroll: *Dialogue de [or le] traite* [or *traité*] (Dialogue, treatise) [*miltraite*]; on the back on the scrinium: *CLODION. AN. XII*

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Sculptures (RF 4686)

PROVENANCE

Probably the sketch mentioned in the contract signed by Clodion on March 4, 1804 (AN, CC 117, file 482); perhaps one of the "Two legislators of Athens" in terracotta listed in the inventory after the sculptor's death, registered on May 24, 1814 (AN, Min. Cent., CXIX, 636; Guiffrey 1912, p. 232); perhaps the terracotta "Brutus reading the laws of Rome. Small figure by Clodion," sale, Paris, coll. Sallé, April 28, 1817, no. 126 (?); Edmond Courty, Chatillon-sous-Bagneux, after World War II; his sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, December 9, 2002, no. 99, ill.; acquired at this sale by preemption of the state

REFERENCE

Scherf 2003, pp. 23–24, ill.

On 23 Ventôse of the year XII (March 4, 1804), Chalgrin, architect of the Senate, commissioned from Clodion a statue representing Cato of Utica for the chamber of that assembly, created under the Consulate. A list of sculptors had been drawn up in 1803 to contribute eight statues (Pajou, Julien, Foucou, Houdon, Roland, Ramey, Cartellier, and Chaudet). Clodion appeared in a supplementary list of six other sculptors (with Duret, Boizot, Delaistre, Lemot, and Masson; see Poulet in Paris 1992a, pp. 348–50). Aged sixty-five and known for his elegantly erotic terracottas, which he produced after 1795 for his connoisseur clients, the sculptor was also trying to win public commissions (in 1801 the state declined to commission the marble of his colossal group *The Flood*; see cat. no. 108).

The statues were to represent important legislators and public men of the Greek and Roman world: Aristides, Camillus, Cicero, Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Otho, and Solon (figures from Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*) and Cincinnatus and Scipio (celebrated in Livy's *History of Rome*); followed in a second round by Cato, Pericles, and Phocion (also taken from Plutarch) and Epaminondas, Leonidas, and Miltiades (three Greek heroes cited by Herodotus Cicero). Twelve plaster statues (including *Cato*) were installed in 1804; the other eleven were: *Aristides* (Cartellier), *Camillus* (Bridan), *Cicero* (Houdon), *Cincinnatus* (Chaudet), *Demosthenes* (Pajou), *Leonidas* (Lemot), *Lycurgus* (Foucou), *Pericles* (Masson), *Phocion* (Delaistre), *Scipio* (Ramey), and *Solon* (Roland).

The contract of March 4, 1804, signed by representatives of the Senate, stipulated that Clodion should execute a



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44 (profile)



Fig. 59
Clodion, *Cato of Utica*,
1804. plaster. Paris, Senate.
Palais du Luxembourg

sketch and then “in the space of five months to be dated from this day” the model in plaster “molded à creux perdu” (a technique in which the mold was destroyed) of a statue 5 *pieds 9 pouces* high (188 cm [74 in.]) for the sum of 3,500 francs, payable in thirds. On July 9 Clodion claimed his first payment, having finished the sketch (AN, CC 118, file 509, item 1). On November 13, 1804, the statue was finished and installed in the Senate. A painting by Regnault shows it in the chamber (Paris 1992a, p. 350, fig. 183); the work is visible immediately to the right, placed on a high pedestal between marble columns. It remained there until 1835, when the alterations that led to the destruction of the chamber began. *Cato* was then moved to the interior of the Senate, where it survives to this day (fig. 59; see Poulet in Paris 1992a, no. 74, ill.).

The very recent reappearance of the present sketch affords us valuable information about Clodion’s development of the subject. The terracotta shows Cato standing, clad in a Roman toga that leaves his right shoulder and part of his torso bare. His left hand is held close to his body, creating a superb fall of material on the forearm, and his right hand holds several parchment scrolls. The incised inscription—*Dialogue de* (or *le*) is legible, the following word less so—refers to *Phaedo*, the dialogue in which Plato discusses the soul, which Cato, according to Plutarch, was reading just before he killed himself (so as not to survive the defeat of Pompey, with whom he was allied, and to avoid being taken by Caesar). To support the figure, the sculptor placed behind him what appears

to be a scrinium (a box in which books and papers were kept), which is described by Montfaucon (1722, vol. 3, pt. 1, pp. 28, 29, pl. vii).

This first composition (minus the sword) evokes the *Cato* that Claude Michallon realized in 1798 for the council chamber of the Five Hundred (Boyer 1958, *passim*, ill.), which Clodion was able to study in the Palais Bourbon and which he surpassed in every respect (facial expression, style of the drapery, and so on). In the absence of a certain portrait of Cato, Clodion drew inspiration from a statue of Augustus then in the Musée Napoléon and still in the Louvre (Poulet in Paris 1992a, p. 352, fig. 185).

In his definitive plaster version Clodion repeated the general attitude of the terracotta: the same definition of the toga with its draftsmanlike folds, the same balance between fabric and bare skin, and the same determination in the face with its knitted brows. He departed from the sketch in adding iconographic details to make the subject more easily recognizable. Cato was thus endowed with two attributes noted by Plutarch: the work by Plato in his left hand and the sword in his right hand. Here he emphasized the duality of the philosopher reading and the man of action brandishing his weapon (the sword blade had disappeared long before the Clodion exhibition in 1992; clearly visible in Regnault's picture, it was reconstructed shortly after that exhibition; see *Le Patri-moine du Sénat* 1996, p. 73, ill.).

A fine example of Clodion's later work, the present sketch shows that the artist had lost nothing of his virtuosity as a modeler: the analysis of hollows and solids is masterly, as is the evocation of anatomy underlying the flesh (the network of veins, the musculature). The back is a bravura passage, an almost abstract composition. Six years later, at the Salon of 1810, the elderly sculptor exhibited a final masterpiece in terracotta, *The Blind Homer Pursued by the Fishermen* (Paris, Musée du Louvre; see Scherf 1993b, *passim*, ill.). As in the *Cato* he made this a subtle re-creation of one of the greatest figures of antiquity, retaining the fluidity of the draperies and the precision of the physiological details that are the hallmark of his style, but executing with a smoother and more polished manner, as befits a definitive work. The vibrant terracotta of the *Cato*, in all its sensitivity, is of a different category, that of the infinitely seductive sketch which reveals its creator in a most intimate way. Clodion coated the orange clay (visible near the break along the fold under the left arm) with a film of unfired clay (a pigmented slip) and a slightly darker shade, thus unifying the whole and giving it a wonderful satinlike finish.

The work formed part of the important collection of eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century French sculptures assembled after World War II by Edmond Courty, a connoisseur who was known for his taste for Houdon, Pajou, and Chinard but who also acquired some superb, rare terracottas created by other artists. GS

ANTONIO CANOVA

Possagno, 1757–Venice, 1822

The Three Graces

Terracotta mounted on slate, 42 × 25 × 12 cm (16½ × 9⅞ × 4¾ in.)
Inscribed on the top of the base in front: *idea / Fatta a Frascati / in casa di Md^a Tambroni. 1810.*

Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts (H. 794)

PROVENANCE

Juliette Récamier, Paris; bequeathed to the museum in her will dated April 18, 1846; entered the museum upon her death in 1849

EXHIBITIONS

Venice and Possagno 1992, no. 94, ill.; Edinburgh 1995, no. 11, ill.; Genoa 2001, no. VIII. 29, ill.

REFERENCES

Musées de la ville de Lyon 1897, p. 2, no. 8; Berti Toesca 1939, p. 25, ill.; Rocher-Jauneau 1959, ill.; Hubert 1964, p. 197 n. 3; Honour 1972, p. 226 n. 82; Pavanello 1976, p. 121, no. 234, ill.; Buron 1981, App., p. 351; Duret 1988, pp. 42–43, ill.; Champion 1998, p. 255, no. 530, ill.; Johns 1998, pp. 120–22, ill.

Antonio Canova's *Three Graces* is today perhaps his most familiar work, not least because of Great Britain's strenuous effort to acquire the second marble example, made for the duke of Bedford in 1815–17. That cause célèbre had a happy ending in 1994, when the work was jointly acquired by the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, and the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (see Edinburgh 1995). Of greater interest in our context is the first marble (fig. 60), which was commissioned by the former empress, the recently divorced Joséphine Bonaparte, for Malmaison, her country house. She had already ordered marbles of Paris and a *Dancer* from Canova. On July 11, 1812, her agent wrote to the sculptor, sounding him out on her wish to own a sculpture of the *Three Graces*. Canova replied that he was interested in the idea but found it "extremely difficult and thorny." She urged him on, wishing to place her *Three Graces* between her *Paris* and *Dancer*. His letter of October 10, 1812, informed her that the *Paris* and *Dancer* were on their way and that he had not neglected the *Graces*: "on the contrary I have already executed a little sketch in clay" (for these references see Honour in Edinburgh 1995, pp. 19, 20, 35, citing Biblioteca Civica, Bassano, MSS 744, 745, 1583). All the modeling was done by June 1813: the full-scale pointed plaster in the Gipsoteca Canoviana at Bassano is inscribed as having been begun in June and finished in August of 1813 (Edinburgh 1995, pp. 38–39, figs. 41, 42).

At Joséphine's death in 1814, the marble was not yet fully carved. Despite declining Bonapartist fortunes, her son, Eugène de Beauharnais, persisted in his claims on

the group (Bedford's thwarted desire to get it led him to commission the second group). The marble intended for Joséphine was sent to Prince Eugène's estate in the duchy of Leuchtenberg, which he had inherited from his father-in-law, the Bavarian king Maximilian I. Duke Nicholas of Leuchtenberg took it to Russia, and it was finally bought by Nicholas II for the Hermitage. The main difference between Joséphine's marble and that of Bedford is the change from an oblong altar at the back to a cylindrical one (the altar is cylindrical in the present model, so the possibility of change was always present in Canova's thinking).

The last digit being somewhat indistinct, the date in the model's inscription has been read variously: my reading of 1810, which has been confirmed by Laurence Berthon, in charge of documentation at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon; 1811; and 1812 (as per the majority, including Honour [in Edinburgh 1995, p. 35], although earlier he had interpreted it as 1810 [Honour 1972, p. 226 n. 82]). The date of 1810 means that Canova already had the composition well in hand two years before he mentioned his "little sketch" to Josephine. The place of modeling is also given in the inscription: the house of Thérèse County Tambroni at Frascati. She was the wife of Giuseppe Tambroni, the erudite consul of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy in Rome and an admirer of Canova's who wrote a commentary on his work after the sculptor's death (Tambroni 1823; see also Rudolph 1982). Word had it that Thérèse Tambroni's admiration was even more passionate, and Stendhal, who idolized Canova, reported that she was the sculptor's mistress (Stendhal 1989, supp. 5, p. 1223). David Silvagni, a social historian writing seventy years after the event, presents a tableau that may mix fact and fiction yet is nonetheless a vivid imagining of the model's origins:

One day in the spring of 1813 [Canova] was in the house of his friend Cavaliere Tambroni, and in his wife's parlor he got to thinking when that lively woman, who was on terms of equal respect and familiarity with him, passed in front of him two or three times with her two chambermaids, who were helping her to put some pieces of furniture back in place after one of the musical evenings, when the artist begged her to stop an instant; La Tambroni did stop and with her the young women; the artist grouped them, made them interlace their arms, the one trying to kiss the other who, evading the kiss, begged one from the third, thus they were reunited in a simple and rather voluptuous movement. Canova exhorted them to hold still for a few minutes, until he could draw them in chalk on a little piece of paper. From that 'sketch', or rather from that idea which flashed into the artist's head, arose the marvelous group of the *Three Graces* (Silvagni 1883–85 [1971 ed.], vol. 2, p. 346).

The present work, modeled, as the inscription says, as an "idea" at Mme Tambroni's, was later given by Canova

to another enchantress, Mme Récamier. Canova corresponded with Récamier and lent her a house he had at Albano when she was in Italy in 1813–14, exiled by Napoleon. The gift of the terracotta perhaps occurred about the time that he conceived her rather insipid marble portrait-bust as Dante's Beatrice (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon). After his death his half brother, Giovanni Battista Sartori Canova, sent her the bust with a note saying it had been modeled from memory in 1813 (see Venice and Possagno 1992, no. 146, ill.).

The subject of the Graces, which has been amply studied (see Crelly 1965 and the résumé by Honour in Edinburgh 1995, pp. 20–24), can be briefly told. The three maidenly divinities, known in Greek as the Charites and in Latin as the Gratiae, were daughters of Zeus by the Oceanid Eurynome. Since the time of Hesiod, they have borne the names Aglaia (Brightness), Euphrosyne (Joyfulness), and Thalia (Bloom). Shrines to them were erected in antiquity. According to Aristotle, "This is why we set up a shrine of the Graces in a public place, to remind men to return a kindness; for that is a special characteristic of grace, since it is a duty not only to repay a service done to one, but another time to take the initiative in doing a service oneself" (Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics* 5.7).

The Graces' ethical import was expressed by Seneca the Younger in lines that resonate in the many works of art subsequently dedicated to them: "Their faces are cheerful, as are ordinarily the faces of those who bestow or receive benefits. They are young because the memory of benefits ought not to grow old. They are maidens because benefits are pure and undefiled and holy in the eyes of all; and it is fitting that there should be nothing to bind or restrict them, and so the maidens wear flowing robes, and these, too, are transparent because benefits desire to be seen" (*On Benefits* 1, 3.5).

In the second century A.D. Pausanias confirms the Graces were painted and sculpted unclad as well as lightly draped (*Itinerary of Greece* 9.36). Ancient marbles and frescoes survive in fair numbers (Becatti 1937). The comeliest marble group is that in the Piccolomini Library, Siena (fig. 61), famous since the fifteenth century (Bober and Rubinstein 1986, pp. 95–97, no. 60) and one of the few Sienese works mentioned by Canova in his account of his first travels south in 1779 (Canova 1994, p. 54). More available to him was the Ruspoli *Graces*, a recomposed work bought for the Vatican after 1815; his friend Giovanni Volpato also owned a headless group (Becatti 1937, p. 46). Ancient depictions invariably show the central Grace from the back, the flanking two facing forward because, as the fourth-century commentator Marius Servius Honoratus remarked, "from one benefit issuing from us two are supposed to return" (from his commentary on Virgil; see Wind 1968, p. 28, notes).

Hugh Honour (in Edinburgh 1995, pp. 20–23) demonstrates that Renaissance artists made the central



45 (reverse)

Grace face the others, while Renaissance writers perpetuated the moralizing glosses of the ancients. He also shows, citing especially Winckelmann, how eighteenth-century thinkers came to insist upon physical grace as an end in itself, prized for its ability to give pleasure (see Edinburgh 1995, pp. 20–24). Canova could accordingly count on an audience ready to accept his group mainly as an aesthetic celebration. Ugo Foscolo, a lionized poet and a great friend of Canova's in the years about 1812–13, was composing a long poem, *Le Grazie* (The Graces), in which he entreated Canova to join him in worshipping the three (see Gianni Venturi in Venice and Possagno 1992, pp. 69–76, and Honour in Edinburgh 1995, pp. 28, 111 n. 62). Canova was virtually compelled to respond with a sculpture.

In his *Three Graces* Canova broke with the ancient and Renaissance compositional formulas previously discussed. He had much experience of the subject beginning in the 1790s. A plaster in Possagno (fig. 62), *Venus and the Graces Dancing in the Presence of Mars*, which he modeled for his own delectation, was reprised in a tempera painting made to decorate his country house (Honour in Edinburgh 1995, p. 24, figs. 25, 26). In these two works the Graces are aligned more or less frontally, a posture even more pronounced in one of Canova's delicious monochrome paintings, *The Graces Dancing to the Music of Cupid*, usually dated about 1798 (Museo-Biblioteca-Archivio, Bassano; Edinburgh 1995, p. 25, fig. 27, and p. 83, no. 2). A painting of 1799 in Possagno and an



Fig. 60
Canova, *The Three Graces*,
1813–1816, marble.
Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage
Museum



Fig. 61
Roman copy of a Greek original,
The Three Graces, marble.
Siena, Piccolomini Library



Fig. 62
Canova, *The Three Graces*,
about 1813, terracotta.
Bassano del Grappa,
Museo Civico



Fig. 63
Canova, *The Three Graces*
and detail of the right-hand
Grace, about 1813, pencil.
Venice, Museo Correr



associated drawing in Bassano show the Graces as frontal half-lengths (Edinburgh 1995, p. 26, figs. 28, 29).

The first visual evidence of Canova's interest in the Three Graces is found in a series of at least eight drawings in Bassano and Venice (for their evolution, and a cautionary note against grouping them too closely together, see Edinburgh 1995, p. 84, no. 9). At an early stage in the drawings, he experimented briefly with a main view that moves one of the sisters to the right and turns her toward the others (Edinburgh 1995, p. 27, fig. 33, and p. 84, no. 7). He worked this up into a terracotta sketch which has been recently discovered and acquired by the museum in Bassano (fig. 63; see Turin 1999). The head of the Grace on the left is bent sharply away from the rest of the composition. However eye-catching, this stance must have been quickly abandoned for its relative imbalance and less eurythmic movement. In several of the drawings the clustered girls look directly out at the beholder rather like startled deer, interrupted in the skittish mirth precipitated by Euphrosyne's laughter. We illustrate one: the figures at top are directly related to the present model, and the thin folds of drapery fall in exactly the same manner in both (fig. 45.4). The beguiling contours of the right Grace's buttocks are seen in the lower half. The sisters become somewhat graver in the Lyon terracotta. They are goddesses, after all: Foscolo, in a paean to the duke of Bedford's model, pronounced the final product to be "the least terrestrial, perhaps, amongst [Canova's] creations" (Foscolo 1822, p. 23).

In the Hermitage and Bedford marbles the draperies of the terracotta are transformed to achieve clarity: they no longer cling to the backs of the sisters. For all their

languid charm, the marbles of the Three Graces have cleanly defined, resonant outlines that are quickly apprehended, like those of a cameo. Yet the flesh in the terracotta model is as exquisitely tremulous as its execution is brisk: a simple cleft between big toe and the next somehow suggests all five digits. Other tricks from the master's bag have a practical purpose. He gives the stretching Grace on the right an exaggeratedly long torso, leaving himself plenty of space for his figures to deploy the others' arms about her. Attributes serve a practical purpose as props: in the marble the altar helps support the rear of the group, while the drapery of the Grace at right, which falls all the way to the ground, relieves pressure on the much-undercut area of stone above.

The Graces were said to dance to the strains of Apollo's lyre. Canova arranged the limbs so harmoniously that they manage to bring music to mind: amazingly he resolved the overall shape into the semblance of a lyre. All of this is carried over into the Hermitage marble (fig. 60), yet there are enough changes in it (the right drapery does not touch the floor, and there is a square altar instead of the terracotta's round one which will recur in the Bedford marble) to suggest that the model represents a penultimate stage to which he returned for final work after two years of deliberation.

The clay is a warm beige. Remains of glue in crevices and occasional traces of plaster suggest that molds were taken; a plaster said to be cast from it was in the 1957 Treviso exhibition (p. 61). The uneven clay at the base caused it to be plastered onto the slate oval, probably at an early stage.

JDD

JOHANN HEINRICH DANNECKER

Stuttgart, 1758–Stuttgart, 1841

*Drunken Bacchus with a Youth and a Bacchante, a Child Satyr at Their Feet*Terracotta, 52.5 × 31 × 22 cm (20³/₈ × 12¹/₄ × 8⁵/₈ in.)
Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie (P1276)

PROVENANCE

Private collection, Florence (with old attribution to Dannecker);
art market, Munich; acquired through the Ernst von Siemens-
Stiftung, 1998

REFERENCE

Holst 1999, pp. 155–56, ill.

By the late eighteenth century far more ancient sculptures in the round had become known, and artists were in general less dependent on sarcophagus reliefs for inspiration. This robust model of Dannecker's, however, is an exception. It is fundamentally indebted to sarcophagi—inspired by, not copied from, for his Roman experience meant looking at antiquity in such depth that he emerged with impressions, not imitations. It bears a certain likeness to a bacchic relief with the familiar arrangement of the god of wine, tipsy and unsteady on his feet, flanked by a youth and a rather matronly bacchante (fig. 63; Matz 1968–75, vol. 3, pp. 318–19, no. 171). Dannecker is far from quoting the composition, although it may be the most pertinent of the scores of ancient representations with which he was familiar. In fact, this sarcophagus was fresh archaeological news during his Roman period, as it was acquired by the Vatican during the papacy of Pius VI (1775–99).

In the present model's overall plan there is perhaps an underlying reiteration of the intertwined forms of ancient groups of the Three Graces (fig. 61), and the group thus makes an interesting comparison with Antonio Canova's later reworking of the theme (cat. no. 45).

Unknown until its publication by Holst, who no doubt accurately dates it to the Roman years (1785–89), the model is remarkably granular, even nubby in texture. The clay was not at all well wedged, as is occasionally true of Dannecker's models, although he is usually one of the smoothest of modelers (see rough models smaller than this but fairly near in date in Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 1, nos. 18–20, 22–24, ill.). There is much variation of color in the pinkish-buff clay, which exhibits numerous kiln cracks and what look to be mold marks.

JDD



46



Fig. 64
Roman sarcophagus:
detail of Drunken
Bacchus and Companions.
Marble. Vatican City,
Musei Vaticani

ANTONIO CANOVA

Possagno, 1757–Venice, 1822

Letizia Ramolino Bonaparte
(*Madame Mère*)

Terracotta, 32.4 × 24.8 × 11.4 cm (12¾ × 9¾ × 4½ in.); on wood base painted white and inscribed in gilt letters: CANOVA ALL'AMICO GIUS. BOSSI / MODELLO DELLA STATUA DI / MAD LETIZIA (Canova to his friend Gius. Bossi / model for the statue of Madame Letizia) Heino, Wijnhe, The Netherlands, Hannema-de Steurs Foundation (688 B77-10)

PROVENANCE

Artist's gift to Giuseppe Bossi (d. 1815); Antoine Fontaine; Adeline Mensing, Amsterdam; Maison Mensing et Fils, sale, Frederick Muller & Cie., Amsterdam, November 17–18, 1936, no. 505; J. H. J. Mellaart Mheer, from whom bought by Dr. D. Hannema

EXHIBITION

London 1972a, no. 331

REFERENCES

Hannema 1952, p. 106, ill.; Hannema 1967, pp. 89–90, no. 408, ill.; Pavanello 1976, p. 110, no. 150, ill.; Bossi 1982, vol. 2, pp. 684, 750; Licht 1983, pp. 143–44, ill.; Venice and Possagno 1992, p. 176

This sketch, rapidly built up by pressing together pellets of clay, is one of three that precede the seated marble figure of Napoleon's mother, Letizia Ramolino Bonaparte, "Madame Mère" (fig. 65). The others are in the Gipsoteca Canoviana, Possagno, and the Fondazione Querini Stampalia, Venice (see Pavanello 1976, p. 110, nos. 148–50,

ill., and Venice and Possagno 1992, p. 176, no. 89, ill.). The three have a clear chronological order: first the Possagno model, abandoned because of the complacent effect of the crossed arms; then that in the Querini Stampalia, in which the ankles are already crossed but the posture is slumped and still somehow complacent; and then the Hannema–de Steurs Foundation's model with its more vigilant air, proper left hand now resting on the chair back. In this last, there are stronger hints of Letizia's features, even of her double chin. Virtually simultaneously, Canova sculpted Napoleon (nude marble statue at Apsley House, London, 1803–6), Madame Mère, and the famous reclining *Pauline Borghese as Venus Victrix* (Galleria Borghese, Rome, 1804–8); the master could almost limn the Bonaparte physiognomy in his sleep. Indeed most of the essentials of the marble are evident in the present bozzetto. They are even more so in a larger plaster at Possagno (Pavanello 1976, p. 110, no. 151, ill.). A marble bust at Chatsworth was probably finished before the statue (Pavanello 1976, p. 110, no. 146, ill., dates it about 1804–5).

Madame Mère commissioned the statue herself when in Rome between March 31 and November 14, 1804, staying at first with her brother Cardinal Fesch in Palazzo Corsini and then elsewhere (Silvagni 1883–85 [1971 ed.], vol. 3, p. 186). There the "Corsican Niobe" had joined her favorite child, the exiled Lucien Bonaparte. They did not attend Napoleon's coronation in Paris, having been already sufficiently appalled when he made himself First Consul for Life. Even so, to present a picture of family togetherness, David painted her into his vast canvas of the *Sacre* (Louvre). The plaster model was ready in 1805 and the marble finished in 1807 and shown at the Salon



Fig. 65
Canova, *Letizia Ramolino Bonaparte, "Madame Mère,"*
1804–7, marble. Chatsworth, U.K., Devonshire
Collection



Fig. 66
Roman, "*Agrippina the Elder*," probably
4th century A.D., marble. Rome, Musei
Capitolini

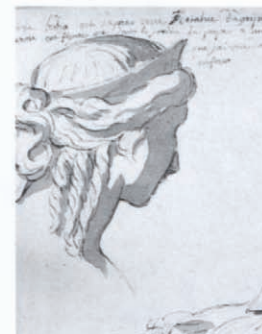


Fig. 67
Augustin Pajou, after an ancient statue of a seated
goddess nursing a child (now Vatican City, Musei
Vaticani), drawn between 1752 and 1756, ink, black
chalk, and brown wash. Paris, École Nationale
Supérieure des Beaux-Arts



47



47 (reverse)



47 (profile)

of 1808, after which Madame Mère had it sent to the Tuileries, proposing that the emperor place it facing his throne. He consigned it to storage, however, where it still languished in 1815 when Canova tried unsuccessfully to get it back (he had not been fully paid). The Restoration government traded it to a scholar-dealer, one Tochon, for a collection of ancient vases. Thus it came onto the market and was acquired in 1818 by the sixth duke of Devonshire for his sculpture gallery at Chatsworth (see Boyer 1940).

Canova freely acknowledged that his inspiration was a much-admired marble in the Capitoline, then generally thought to represent Agrippina the Elder, wife of Germanicus and mother of Caligula (fig. 66). Some also argued for Agrippina the Younger, the mother of Nero. It is probably neither (see Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 133–34, no. 1). Of the three bozzetti, only the present one follows the ancient marble in propping the proper left hand on the chair's back, and it is in that part that his reference to the antique is most evident. Johns probably overstates the case for Canova's choice of the "Agrippina" as his source into a "subversive" action. By his reading, Canova's resentful feelings toward the Bonapartist regime led him to concoct a subtheme that more or less equates the mothers of Nero and Napoleon. On the contrary, Canova chose it because it suited him to stress Letizia's maternal nature, and it is clear from the humor of the face that he found her an engaging character. Since she was in an anti-Napoleon frame of mind, he hardly needed to summon additional irony.

Canova worried that the antique borrowing would be viewed as a form of plagiarism. To offset the criticism he anticipated, on November 29, 1806, he wrote a defensive letter to his friend Quatremère de Quincy: "One day you will see my statue in Paris. Well I challenge you or anyone else to find a single drapery fold borrowed from any work whatsoever. If I posed my figure in about the way the wife of Germanicus [Agrippina the Elder] is posed, there will not be any other resemblance in it, I don't mean only in the head (that goes without saying) but in the whole, in the hair, in the movement of the legs, in the general solution of the draperies, in their adjustments, and in the least details" (Quatremère de Quincy 1834a, p. 143).

True, *Madame Mère's* head differs from that of "Agrippina," being in many ways more graceful. For it, Canova turned to another seated lady from antiquity, a lactating mother-goddess then in the garden of the Quirinal Palace and popularly known as "Juno Giving her Milk to the Infant Hercules" or sometimes "Agrippina Breast-Feeding the Little Nero." She was identified in the latter role by Augustin Pajou (fig. 67; Draper and Scherf 1997, p. 57, no. 1, 56; the seated female on the same leaf is after a different statue). The Agrippina-Nero connection could give comfort to Johns's reading, mentioned above, but the appellation was not universally applied (Helbig 1963, p. 277, no. 364; Andreae et al. 1995, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 34, no. 241). The goddess is bodily less appealing than the "Agrippina," which by his own words, he believed represents the consort of Germanicus. We illustrate Pajou's view of the head rather than the statue. It was the head, with tiara and long plaits falling in back, that Canova also admired in the much-restored statue. What Pajou sketched as potentially useful to his art Canova utilized to the full in the head of *Madame Mère*.

The model's early history offers a glimpse into Canova's character as a friend. As generous as he was, he did not part lightly with his terracottas, which is why most remain at Possagno. This one, as seen on the base, he presented to an intimate, the Milanese painter Giuseppe Bossi (1777–1815). On June 15, 1811, Bossi wrote, knowing that Canova was at work on a seated statue of the Empress Marie-Louise as Concordia (Galleria Nazionale, Parma): "If ever there should exist some *contornino* [little record, perhaps a drawing] of the Empress, share it with me, and if ever you have made some bozzetto which would make a companion for my *Letizia*, save it for your affectionate G. Bossi" (Bossi 1982, vol. 2, p. 684). Canova did not take the hint, and Bossi's *Letizia* appears without a pendant on a packing list drawn up a few years later (Bossi 1982, vol. 2, p. 750).

The buff clay has plaster intrusions in the face and back. Light breaks in the proper left arm have been repaired with animal glue. The old break on the back of the chair probably occurred before the clay was dry. Canova probably tore it away himself to give his fingers enough room to work on the detail of the dress.

JDD

PIERRE-NICOLAS BEAUVALLLET

Le Havre, 1750–Paris, 1818

Sappho

Terracotta, 41 × 18 × 20.8 cm (16½ × 7½ × 8¼ in.)

Inscribed on the base at left: *Beauvallet fecit anno 1813* (Beauvallet made [this] in the year 1813); in front: *SAPHO*
 Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery (27.372)

PROVENANCE

Sale, Paris, coll. Paul Mame, April 26, 1904, no. 374; acquired by Henry Walters in New York; bequeathed to the museum with the rest of his collection, 1941

REFERENCE

Ross 1941, pp. 38–39, ill. p. 45

New York only

This exquisite statuette, signed and dated by Beauvallet in 1813, is the exact contemporary of one of his most celebrated works, *Susanna in the Bath* (Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 1, p. 96, ill.). The plaster model of the latter was shown in the Salon of 1810 and made such a sensation that the following year the artist received an imperial commission for the marble; this was finished in 1813 and exhibited in the Salon of 1814. *Susanna's* nude figure (influenced by Canova's *Venus Italica*) is, however, far removed from *Sappho*. By contrast, *Sappho's* physique, large hiped and small breasted, and her garment with its fine clinging folds recall Beauvallet's beautiful plaster of *Pomona*, signed and dated 1812 (fig. 68; "Acquisitions" 1991, p. 117, no. 76).

The circumstances in which Beauvallet created the present terracotta are not known. It may have been a commission from a connoisseur, at a time when the story of *Sappho* was in vogue among both painters (as in, for example, pictures by Taillasson in 1791, Gros in 1801, and David in 1809) and sculptors (Le Sueur showed *Sappho Addressing Her Verses to the Bust of Phaon* in the Salon of 1795 and Duret *Sappho Inspired by Love Writing to Phaon* in the Salon of 1806; whereabouts of both works are unknown). Beauvallet's statuette is not without an analogy to a small refined marble by Claude Ramey exhibited in the Salon of 1801: *Sappho Leaning on Her Lyre and Holding a Letter Addressed to Phaon* (Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 2, p. 558, ill.). Landon notes that this is "the only one among modern works that is known to us of this celebrated woman" (Landon 1833, p. 92, pl. 55). Beauvallet later returned to the subject, exhibiting a "Bust of *Sappho*; study" in the Salon of 1817 (no. 794; now lost), of which Miel writes that the marble "would be quite good, if it were animated by love" (Miel 1818, p. 382).



Fig. 68
 Beauvallet, *Pomona*,
 1812, plaster. Paris,
 Musée du Petit Palais

Beauvallet sculpted the ardent poet at the moment she ceases to play her lyre. Her haggard look and disordered clothing seem to illustrate the turmoil in her soul as she despairs of regaining the love of young Phaon—thanks to Venus the most beautiful of mortals—who has left her. She holds a plectrum in her right hand, and behind the drum are rolls of paper. Her hair is crowned with laurels. Her robe is an elegant transcription of antique dress. The artist repeats verbatim the oblique décolleté from above the breasts to below her right shoulder, as well as the fall of the folds on the torso and legs that he had already taken from the Farnese *Flora* in his allegory of Liberty, a drawing dating from the year III (Bordes and Chevalier 1996, pp. 198–200, no. 50, ill.). The statuette thus reflects a refined Neoclassicism, in which inspiration from antiquity has been subsumed in the expression of sensibility.

The work is modeled with grace and subtlety. Sappho is seated on a quadrangular block, allowing the sculptor to crush the folds of her dress and to develop its elegant details, now flattened, now rippling. The sensuality of her neck and shoulder bared as far as the breasts contrasts with the play of layered fabrics. The lyre, which is nicely decorated at the bottom with a scroll originally intended as a counterpoint to the garland of roses at the top (now broken off), adds a slightly ubane touch to a work that verges on preciousness and that, as such, was well in keeping with Mme Récamier's sensibility. The piece was made of beige clay and covered with a dark brown slip (missing in places).

GS

JOSEPH-CHARLES MARIN

Paris, 1759–Paris, 1834

Telemachus

Terracotta, 43,5 × 26 × 28 cm (17¼ × 10¼ × 11 in.)

Inscribed on the back on the tree trunk: *marin / 1789*

Switzerland, private collection

PROVENANCE

Mentioned in the *Catalogue de l'exposition de tableaux, dessins, bas-reliefs, marbres, terres cuites et gravures, formant partie de la collection de la Société des Amis des Arts, pour l'année 1792, et dont le tirage aura lieu dans les trois premiers mois de 1793* (Catalogue of the exhibition of pictures, drawings, reliefs, marbles, terracottas, and prints, forming part of the collection of the Société des Amis des Arts, for the year 1792, the drawing for which will take place in the first three months of 1793), no. 63; mentioned in the printed *Liste des numéros gagnants de la loterie de la Société des Amis des Arts, dont le tirage a été fait publiquement le 30 juillet 1793* (List of the winning numbers in the lottery of the Société des Amis des Arts, the drawing for which took place in public on July 30, 1793), no. 636, with the name of the prince of Liechtenstein as the acquirer annotated in ink (Arch. Paris, 2 AZ 178, item 2; the prince's name figures in the society's accounts [Arch. Paris, 2 AZ 178, item 4]); perhaps the "large figure of a shepherd in terracotta, by Marin," sale, Paris, coll. Soliage, November 22, 1847, no. 81; perhaps the "Shepherd reading. Terracotta signed by Marin," sale, Paris, coll. Pernet, November 25, 1878, no. 75; Paris, coll. David-Weill, before 1940; New York, art market

EXHIBITIONS

Paris, Salon of 1793, no. 58 ("Telemachus. Terracotta"); New York 1940, no. 52

REFERENCES

Quinquenet 1948, p. 55; Paris 1992b, p. 13

Paris only

In the Salon of 1793 Joseph-Charles Marin exhibited the present work, a terracotta titled simply "Telemachus" in the *livret*. It had already been shown at the Société des Amis des Arts, an association that supported artists by buying their works, which the members acquired through a lottery. Not a member of the Académie Royale—from 1782 to 1787 he regularly failed to win a first prize—Marin took part in 1791 in the first Salon open to all artists, showing fourteen works. For the most part these had bacchic themes, a taste he shared with his friend Clodion, but there was also an *Allegory of La Fayette* in plaster (terracotta in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne). In 1793 and 1795 he continued to exhibit numerous works in the Salon. In 1796 Marin left for Italy, where he stayed until 1799. Inscribed in the École des Beaux-Arts in 1800 and 1801 as a pupil of Clodion, he finally obtained first prize in the competition of 1801. The following year he won a place at the Académie de France in Rome and did not return to Paris until about 1812.

During this second stay in Italy Marin executed his *Telemachus in His Slavery*, finished on August 31, 1805 (title given by Suvée; see *Académie de France à Rome* 1984, p. 693); a lifesize plaster, this “model of his competition work” was finished on August 2, 1805 (Rome, Archives, Villa Medici, Marin, box 13; research by Antoinette Le Normand-Romain). The plaster was exhibited in November 1805 (*Académie de France à Rome* 1984, pp. 769, 777) and opened the doors to the Accademia di San Luca, as Marin noted in his autobiography: “After this work [*Telemachus*], the Accademia di San Luca, acting upon Canova’s proposal, unanimously admitted into its company M. Marin, who also became a teacher by vote of the same academy” (Hubert 1993, pp. 121–22). The marble was sent to Paris (it was packed and ready to leave on December 13, 1811; Rome, Archives, Villa Medici, Marin, box 13; research by Antoinette Le Normand-Romain) at the expense of the French government. Acquired for 8,000 francs at Denon’s instigation in June 1812 (Denon 1999, vol. 2, pp. 870–71, nos. 2492, 2495), it was exhibited in the Salon of 1812 (no. 1110) and placed in the park of the Château of Fontainebleau, where it still

Fig. 69
Marin, *Telemachus as a Shepherd,
Prisoner of King Sesostris*, 1812,
marble. Château de
Fontainebleau

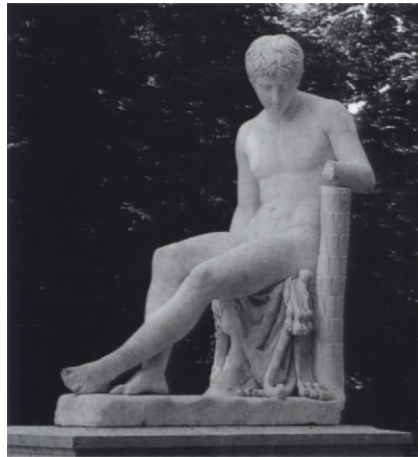


Fig. 70
Moitte, *Telemachus in
the Deserts Consoled by
Termosiris, Priest of Apollo*,
aquatint by Parisot, 1785.
Paris, Bibliothèque
Nationale de France



stands in poor condition (fig. 68). The work is likewise mentioned by the artist, with a certain pride, in an 1814 petition to obtain the Legion of Honor (see Jouin 1900, pp. 34–35, letter xxvii).

The marble statue is listed in the *livret* of the Salon of 1812: “Telemachus [as] shepherd and slave in the service of King Sesostris. He is seated and reflecting on what Termosiris, high priest of Apollo, has said to him.” This is an illustration of a celebrated episode in the second book of Fénelon’s *Aventures de Télémaque* (1699), a work reprinted throughout the eighteenth century. Telemachus, in his initiatory quest about the Mediterranean in search of his father, Ulysses, becomes the slave of a wicked officer, who has concealed him from King Sesostris of Egypt. Reduced to a simple shepherd’s life in harsh surroundings and overcome by grief at his plight, he meets Termosiris, the priest of Apollo, who gives him books and a flute and advises him to better his lot by hard work and joy: “Teach all these shepherds the charms of harmony. Soften their wild hearts. Show them kindly virtue. Make them feel how sweet it is to enjoy in solitude the innocent pleasures that none can take away from shepherds. One day, my son, one day the difficulties and cruel cares that surround kings will make you, once on the throne, long for the pastoral life” (Fénelon, *Les aventures de Télémaque* [Paris, 1995], p. 55).

Marin’s statue is a faithful representation of the young Telemachus seated on the carcass of a lion: armed only with a crook, he had killed the hungry beast before the admiring shepherds. In one hand he holds the flute given him by the priest, which has enchanted his followers, and in the other a scroll, for “happy are those who love to read.” The deeds of the hero, who “had restored the golden age to these almost uninhabitable deserts,” come to the ears of Sesostris, who frees the young man. The episode chosen by Marin is not without a moral: the future king of Ithaca, reduced to a most humble life, shapes his own destiny by encouraging happiness and hard work around him. Marin represents him in marble as a youthful antique hero, nude, his hair in curls and his left arm rather awkwardly placed on the trunk of a palm tree that is perhaps too obvious a support. “To his statue of a new Hercules, Marin added some touches to the Lysippian type of the *Heracles Epitrapezios*,” one replica of which was in the Borghese collection, while another was molded by Mengs in Italy: “For the head bent as if weighed down in thought, he [Marin] has chosen the ideal ephebic type, representative of fifth-century Greece for Winckelmann’s contemporaries” (Pressouyre 1969, p. 211).

The 1812 marble now at Fontainebleau—and a half-lifesize marble reduction, no doubt exhibited at the Salon of 1814 (no. 1100), which was owned by two of Marin’s friends, Royer (his sale, September 2, 1823, no. 192) and then Collot (his sale, May 25, 1852, no. 23)—conformed to the composition of the 1805 plaster described by



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Guattani (*Diario ordinario*, February 12 and 26, 1806; cited in *Académie de France à Rome* 1984, p. 777). The present terracotta is quite different. Here the young Telemachus is elegant, even effeminate—not inconsistent with Fénelon's description—and is modeled with Marin's distinctive finesse and delicacy. Marin certainly knew the illustrations by Charles Monnet and by Moitte (fig. 69), both of which were engraved in 1785 (see Gramaccini 1993, vol. 1, pp. 29–32, vol. 2, figs. 150, 125): he repeated the silhouette of the seated young man, with his curly hair, light tunic, and shepherd's crook and flute. Thus we

can see an interesting development in Marin's work here: the graceful *Telemachus*, done in 1789 under the influence of Clodion's elegiac terracottas and the sentimental illustrations of Fénelon's novel, turned into a virile hero during the Italian trip. The long-haired youth of 1789 clad in the light tunic of an Arcadian shepherd and the young Roman displaying his epic nudity of fifteen years later, present two interpretations of this antique mythological figure. Attentive to subtle material contrasts (the fine hair on the bare skin, the folds of the tunic against the flesh of the legs, and the smooth hand on the



49 (reverse)

rough tree trunk), the sculptor shows the prodigious skill evident in his other masterpieces: his *Naiad Bearing a Shell on Her Head* of the Salon of 1793 (New York, The

Metropolitan Museum of Art), *Maternity* (Detroit Institute of Arts), and the *Vestal* of 1795 (cat. no. 26).

GS

3

Typologies



The works in this section illustrate three subjects often discussed in regard to terracotta sculpture: the monument and its pedestal; relief, especially in its relation to architecture; and the revival of complex figure groups that included centaurs. The works include sketches (cat. nos. 50, 51, 52, 59, 60, 62, 63, 66, 68, 69–70), models (cat. nos. 53, 54, 55, 61), and independent works (cat. nos. 56, 64, 65, 67, 71, 72, 73, 78).

From its beginning a monument was shaped by the circumstances of its commission and future placement. It might be intended for a private space (cat. nos. 50, 51) or a public space (cat. no. 52); it might celebrate the aristocracy (cat. nos. 53, 54, 59), the hero (cat. no. 55), or the republic (cat. nos. 56, 57, 58). Bouchardon's freestanding *Athletes* (cat. nos. 50, 51) were shown at the Salon of 1737 as pendants intended to be set on gloriously high pedestals, facing each other, in the garden of Louis XV's foreign minister Germain-Louis de Chauvelin. Standing solidly, each overcomes a ferocious animal, thus evoking strength as well as the pleasures of the hunt. They were conceived to be appreciated from multiple points of view. Pigalle's sketch of the Citizen (cat. no. 52) presents a single figure that would be part of a group on the pedestal for the monument of Louis XV in the place Royale in Reims. The sculptor made this work while knowing the figure would be part of an ensemble with lateral as well as frontal views. Verschaffelt's statuette of Prince Elector Carl Theodore (cat. no. 53) was a model for a marble that still stands in a niche in the Rittersaal of Schloss Mannheim. The sculptor was limited to a strictly frontal view, and the minimal accessories had to be detailed enough to convey royal power. Delvaux's *Hercules* (cat. no. 54), in the Brussels palace of Charles of Lorraine, similarly conveyed regal authority, but stood at the foot of a ceremonial staircase where it could be seen from multiple viewpoints. Its placement near the stairs meant that it would be seen by many people who would appreciate the detailed composition on its pedestal showing the Erymanthian boar (whose capture was one of the twelve labors of Hercules). In many cases the artist took the same care with the base that he did with the figures. In Chinard's model for the monument to Bayard (cat. no. 55), the marble base with a gilt-metal chain around all four sides conveys the striking impact that the monument would have had in a public space (it was, however, not realized). The pedestal is illustrated, as is that of *Liberty* (cat. no. 56). The pedestal is an integral part of the figural sculpture in these works, as it is in Godecharle's *Victory Alighting on Earth* (cat. no. 59), where the figure stands on a globe among clouds.

Most of the reliefs in this section are projects that were intended to be part of architectural structures. The terracotta sketch by Roland for an overdoor in Marie-Antoinette's boudoir at Fontainebleau (cat. no. 60) was composed of relatively simple forms that would be decipherable in a sumptuous decor.

Lecomte's *Triumph of Terpsichore* (cat. no. 61) and Moitte's *Festival at Pales* (cat. no. 62), in contrast, would be highlighted in architectural settings. Lecomte's relief was a frieze on the Paris *hôtel* of Mlle Guimard, a dancer and courtesan; the architect Ledoux placed it spectacularly under a half-dome vault. Moitte's relief is less successfully installed behind a colonnade in the courtyard of the *hôtel de Salm*. This very detailed composition, more in accordance with pictorial art than with monumental, is judged more easily in the sketch than in the final work. The same is true of Godecharle's pediment for the façade of the royal palace at Laeken, whose details are difficult to see from the ground but which are clearly revealed in the sketch (cat. no. 63) and the model (fig. 93). Perhaps the sculptor, working in his studio, overlooked the drawbacks of the architectural setting. In its final stone form, a relief by David d'Angers, *The Motherland Calling Her Children to the Defense of Liberty* (cat. no. 68), was set inside the triumphal arch of the *Porte d'Aix* in Marseille, where it breaks free of architectural constraints. The artist employed an original, expressive style, juxtaposing planes and contrasting sculptural rhymes, without relying on pictorial or classical references.

Two examples, unconnected with architecture, demonstrate the influence of the antique on the relief: *The Testament of Eudamidas* by Breton (cat. no. 65) and *Christian Charity* after Thorvaldsen (cat. no. 67). Breton's relief is a copy after a painting by Poussin, which represents a classical deathbed scene and was held in high regard during the second half of the eighteenth century. The sculpture conceived by Thorvaldsen is a fine example of the Neoclassical relief, with neatly silhouetted figures standing out against a bare background.

This section's third part is devoted to the figure group, with an emphasis on centaurs. The studies by Sergel (cat. nos. 73–77) and by Stouf (cat. no. 71) show the sophisticated spatial organization of a figure group consisting of two or three protagonists, with multiple points of view. These compositions echo those made in the late sixteenth century by Giambologna, and the subjects are taken from the works of this great Florentine master (see cat. nos. 72, 77), just as the refinement of details, surfaces, and textures of these terracotta objects recall his small bronzes, which continued to be enthusiastically collected by noblemen throughout Europe until the end of the eighteenth century.

GS

The Monument

“We call ‘monument’ any work of architecture or sculpture created to preserve the memory of famous men or great events, such as a mausoleum, pyramid, arch of triumph, etc.” This somewhat restrictive definition, which appeared in the *Encyclopédie*, was later expanded to “an impressive work, large in scale and worthy of being preserved” or “that has a religious or symbolic value.”¹ These criteria apply perfectly to Winckelmann’s *Monumenti antichi inediti* (Unpublished Antique Monuments). The terracottas in the present publication illustrate both the ideal of sculpture, “worthy of being preserved” in human memory, and the creation of “impressive” works, usually of “large scale,” designed to stand in relation to particular surrounding spaces. The term “monument” thus refers both to choice of subject and to its translation into three-dimensional form. This explains the presence of Bouchardon’s two *Athletes* (cat. nos. 50, 51), which were intended to be executed in truly “monumental” proportions (about 3 meters [10 feet high]) dominating a vast space. In a monument the relationship between the sculpted figure and its pedestal is of first importance, whether the latter has an iconographical function or not. The words “pedestal” and “socle” were fairly interchangeable in the eighteenth century: “the specialized dictionaries that began to appear in the second half of the century either omitted or were imprecise in their use of the three basic terms, ‘pedestal,’ ‘base,’ and ‘socle.’ Furetière considered them synonymous.² Lacombe³ and the *Encyclopédie* restricted the use of the terms ‘pedestal’ and ‘base’ to architecture, and that of ‘socle’ to statuary.”⁴

The pedestal could be integrated into the design from the start: Canova’s lyrical *Nuptial Allegory*, possibly created

in connection with Franz I of Austria’s wedding in 1817, shows a couple holding hands and being united by Hymen. In a masterful terracotta sketch, the artist placed the group on a base that accounted for over a third of the height, endowing the whole with a monumental scale and sensitivity to the surrounding space which kept it from being taken for a mere decorative object.⁵ Similarly, the group of Achilles and Penthesilea were modeled on a double podium that dramatically isolates and magnifies the sublimity of the figures’ encounter (fig. 71).⁶ In his small model (fig. 72) for a monument to Field Marshal Kurt Christoph of Schwerin⁷ that was intended for Berlin (1759) and that was actually realized, François-Gaspard Adam included an impressive pedestal richly adorned with volutes and garlands that was intended to inspire deference in the eyes of the spectator—and that was actually made. The great shell at the back of the niche for the marble statue of Elector Carl Theodor in Mannheim (fig. 76) had the same purpose as Adam’s pedestal, in the sense that it emphasized the stature of the personage portrayed.

The narrative role played by the base is particularly clear in the case of royal monuments. Abbé Laugier’s considerations on this subject, published in 1765, exemplify the kinds of discussions that were inspired by this topic and that led to Pigalle’s solution in Reims (see cat. no. 52). Following the objections raised by Voltaire and other writers, Laugier disapproved of the monarchs (Henry IV and Louis XIV) being depicted as treading conquered adversaries underfoot but congratulated Bouchardon for choosing to “accompany the statue of Louis XIV with figures worthy of representing the virtues responsible for the glory and well-being of his reign.” However, he



Fig. 71
Canova, *Achilles and Penthesilea*,
terracotta, 1798–99. Possagno,
Gipsoteca Canoviana



Fig. 72
François-Gaspard Adam, *Field Marshal
Kurt Christoph von Schwerin*,
1759, terracotta. London, Victoria and
Albert Museum

criticized the artist for allowing sculpted caryatids at the corners of the pedestal: "I would have preferred to pair them at the sides of the pedestal. The sculptor would have had greater latitude to conceive his subject in noble terms. The virtues would have appeared in a state of freedom and repose. The groups themselves would have enhanced the pyramidal effect by giving it more volume at the base."⁸ This is exactly what Pigalle did at Reims (fig. 75). The most radical solution was devised by Falconet, who perched his equestrian statue of Peter I on a large block of native granite: "He steps over the boulder that serves as a base, symbolizing the hardships that he has overcome,"⁹ such that the base is part and parcel of the monument's allegorical content.¹⁰

At the end of the eighteenth century, artists such as Chinard were particularly concerned with the relationship between base and statue. His groups *Project for a Monument to Bayard* (cat. no. 55) and *Liberty Crowning the French People* (cat. no. 56) rest on pedestals decorated with historiated bands atop bases with subdued animals, enhancing the symbolism with wondrous sculptural

innovation. What serves as a pedestal has been completely integrated into the monument's very meaning, which is redolent of the theme of the mountain in the iconography of the French Revolution.¹¹ GS

1. *Dictionnaire universel des noms communs*, ed. Paul Robert (Paris, 1974), p. 1112.
2. "Socle: architectural term. Base or pedestal on which a bust, statue or column is placed" (Antoine Furetière, *Le dictionnaire universel* [Paris, 1690]).
3. Jacques Lacombe, *Dictionnaire portatif des beaux-arts* (Paris, 1752) (entry for "Piédestal").
4. Jollet 2001, p. 27. See also Bauder 1978, pp. 512–13.
5. Pavanello 1976, pp. 128–29, no. 300, ill.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 104, no. 113, ill.
7. Seelig 1976, figs. 3, 5.
8. Marc-Antoine Laugier, *Observations sur l'architecture* (The Hague, 1765), p. 76.
9. Falconet, letter to Diderot, February 28, 1767 (Benot 1958, p. 238).
10. Jollet 2000, pp. 61–62.
11. See the anonymous engraving of the *Monument Erected to Nature in Strasbourg Cathedral* (Brumaire year II, 1793; Mosser 1989, p. 30, fig. 22).

50, 51

EDME BOUCHARDON

Chaumont (Haute-Marne), 1698 – Paris, 1762

50

Athlete Taming a Bear

Terracotta, 37 × 23 × 19 cm (14 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 9 × 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum (HCK 1678)

PROVENANCE

Paris, Jean de Jullienne (1686–1766); his sale, March 30, 1767, no. 1299, "Two attractive models in terracotta, by the same Bouchardon, representing two men, one who is taming a lion, the other a bear"; bought for 650 livres by a Prince Golitsyn (annotation in a copy of the sale catalogue in the RKDH, The Hague); acquired several years later by Count Alexander Sergeievich Stroganov (1733–1811), in Paris 1771–79 and 1781–83, who took the work to Saint Petersburg; then by descent until the collections of the Stroganov Palace and Museum were integrated with those of the Hermitage in 1925 (inventories of 1925 and 1926 cited by Kosareva 1975, p. 451 n. 35; Portland and Fort Worth 2000, p. 87).

EXHIBITION

Paris, Salon of 1737: "two models in terracotta, representing athletes one of whom is taming a lion, the other a bear; the latter has been executed in stone at Grosbois"

REFERENCES

Zaretskaia and Kosareva 1963, p. 161, no. 16, ill.; Weber 1969, p. 46; Zaretskaia and Kosareva 1970, no. 100, ill.; Kosareva 1975, pp. 445–46

51

Athlete Taming a Lion

Terracotta, 36 × 34 × 22 cm (14 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.)
Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum (HCK 1677)

PROVENANCE

See above, cat. no. 50

EXHIBITION

See above, cat. no. 50

REFERENCES

Zaretskaia and Kosareva 1963, p. 161, no. 17, ill.; Zaretskaia and Kosareva 1970, no. 101, ill.; Kosareva 1975, pp. 445–46, ill. (cover)

These two sketches by Edme Bouchardon are associated with a royal commission. In 1735 the Bâtiments du Roi, headed by the duc d'Antin, undertook two statues as a royal gift to Germain Louis Chauvelin, who had been keeper of the seals (minister of justice) and then secretary of state for foreign affairs from 1727. These works would decorate his Château de Grosbois (Val-de-Marne). The domain had just been raised to a marquise in 1734 (Maurepas and Boulant 1996, p. 136). In 1737 Chauvelin suddenly fell into disgrace and was exiled at the instigation of Cardinal de Fleury.

Edme Bouchardon had been in Paris since 1733, as had his fellow student in Rome, Lambert-Sigisbert Adam. Both were essential to the revival of the French school. Dezallier d'Argenville, author of biographies of celebrated sculptors, wrote: "The reputation of Adam, which was growing daily, prompted the duc d'Antin to summon



Fig. 73
Bouchardon,
Athlete Taming a Bear, red chalk.
Paris, Musée du Louvre

50

him to Grosbois in 1735 in order to model a group that the king was giving M. Chauvelin. He issued a similar summons to the celebrated Bouchardon. When the artists arrived, the duke showed them two lawns below the château's terrace where their works would be placed and left the choice of subject up to them. Adam quickly made a wax model of the Rape of the Sabines and Bouchardon a drawing of Diana and Endymion. Since these subjects were not harmonious, the duke suggested that the topics be related to the hunt, and they each did a drawing. Our artists were soon engaged on two groups eleven *pieds* in height, which were roughed out nearby and finished in place. That of Adam represents a hunter who captures a lion with nets, these rendered with great

care; the hunter eyes the animal, which has killed his dog, with a menacing air. This figure has much more expression than that of Bouchardon" (1787, pp. 346–47). Dezallier's text implies a direct intervention by the duc d'Antin, an able courtier who was the son of Mme de Montespan, mistress of Louis XIV. Nothing more is known of Adam's *Rape of the Sabines*, and one can only suppose that it recalled the virtuosic group by Giambologna. It is, however, possible that a beautiful red-chalk drawing of Diana and Endymion by Bouchardon (Weber 1969, p. 43, fig. 9) preserves the memory of his first project for Grosbois. Hunters, however, were more suited to the site, as the château was surrounded—as the name Grosbois indicates—by immense woods.



Fig. 74
Bouchardon,
Athlete Taming a Lion, red chalk.
Montpellier, Musée Fabre



51

The two stone groups were finished and placed on the Grosbois grounds; they were mentioned in the inventories of Maréchal Berthier, who owned the château at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but they do not appear in later documents and today are lost. Adam's "model representing a hunter capturing a lion in the nets" was shown in the Salon of 1737, after the stone group had been executed at Grosbois (he was paid 4,000 livres; see Furcy-Raynaud 1927, pp. 1–2). The work must have been spectacular, Adam being a virtuosic carver: "No one could dig into the marble as he could, and by way of proof he worked so that everything formed holes in his sculptures, and his figures resembled rocks" (Dezallier d'Argenville 1787, p. 351). The nets which held

the lion must have been extraordinarily illusionistic, if they were anything like the ones he realized some fifteen years later in his group representing Fishing (Potsdam, Schloss Sanssouci).

Bouchardon for his part created "an athlete who tames a bear; a concept similar to that of a small model he had made in Rome" (Dezallier d'Argenville 1787, p. 320). The stone sculpture was also finished in 1735, Bouchardon receiving his full payment (4,000 livres) on December 26 (Furcy-Raynaud 1927, p. 44). The artist referred to the reception accorded the piece in a letter to his sister of August 27, 1735: "The work I made at Grosbois went well and has been admired by all those who have seen it. M. le Garde des Sceaux has paid me a thousand compliments

and said he would like to give me another work to do. Mme la Garde des Sceaux indicated to me that he was very mortified I had not made the figure by M. Adam, which did not do him much credit" (Ronot 2002, vol. 2, p. 121). The groups, each ten *pieds* high (325 cm [128 in.]), were placed "in the large lawns that occupied the sides of the parterre" (Dezallier d'Argenville 1755, pp. 294–95).

Bouchardon's letter to his father of September 10, 1735, expresses his animosity toward his rival: "The work I made for Grosbois does me infinite credit, everyone speaks well of it. The same is not said of the other group that M. Adam made, and really, there is a big difference between this work and mine, whether in the composition, the workmanship, or the design, which is wretched. . . . He has done the waterfall at Saint-Cloud and this group for Grosbois. These two works are scorned by all the connoisseurs" (Ronot 2002, vol. 2, p. 120). Bouchardon was not *agrée* at the Académie Royale until October 1735, more than two years after Adam, and he was not admitted until February 1745; his rival had been admitted in May 1737 and in July became an adjunct professor, a title—printed in the *livret* of the Salon of 1737—that gave him the rank of officer. No doubt Adam's advantage over him at the academy greatly irritated Bouchardon and drove him to a direct confrontation at the Salon of 1737: even as Adam was exhibiting his model of the *Lion Hunter*, Bouchardon showed "two models in terracotta, representing athletes one who tames a lion, the other a bear; the latter has been executed in stone at Grosbois." A few echoes of this confrontation have come down to us. But Bouchardon had influential friends and he ultimately won the battle.

The influential engraver Charles-Nicolas Cochin observed: "M. Bouchardon was certainly the greatest sculptor and the best draftsman of his century. We are indebted to him for having restored the simple, noble taste of antiquity; sculpture indeed was distancing itself too much from that and would have been still more removed by the mannered taste of the Adam brothers" (Cochin 1880, p. 85). The great connoisseur Jullienne, member of the Académie and an eminent collector of terracottas of the contemporary French school, bought the two statuettes. Caylus admired the work at Grosbois while doubting that it would survive: "This group has been engraved, the composition will survive, but the fine points of the work itself will not long do honor to their

author: time will soon pass sentence on it. The open air and the distance from Paris, though not great, always render maintenance and repairs difficult. Thus everything combines in its destruction" (Caylus 1762, p. 39).

It was Caylus himself who engraved his friend's two compositions. The print (reversed) of the *Athlete Taming a Bear* (Roserot 1910, p. 40, ill.; Weber 1969, fig. 21) matches the terracotta and probably the stone group, as indicated by the detail of the tree trunk, essential to the stability of the sculpture. The red-chalk drawing (fig. 73), on the other hand, is quite different and probably corresponds to an early idea for the composition (Weber 1969, fig. 24). The red-chalk drawing of the *Athlete Taming a Lion* (fig. 74; Weber 1969, fig. 22), however, is identical with the terracotta and the engraving and must have served as model for the latter. The two Athletes were reunited in a large *Project for a Fountain* (Musée du Louvre [24280]; Weber 1969, p. 44, fig. 20); they are placed on either side of a basin, with jets of water spouting from the animals' mouths. The sheet is evidence of Bouchardon's attachment to his two creations, which he set himself to revive in an imaginary monumental context.

These two terracottas are among the artist's most attractive works (an unfortunate loss is the lion tamer's right forearm, which held part of the beast's leash). They were obviously conceived together as pendants. The thick irregular bases give them a monumental foundation. The composition of the *Athlete Taming a Bear* was commented on by Dezallier d'Argenville (1755, p. 295): "one of his knees bears down on this ferocious beast and occasions a skillful foreshortening." The opposition of two forces—human and animal—adds great power to the sculptures: the athletes' muscles, tensed, demonstrate a sophisticated anatomical knowledge; their hair is flung back and their draperies are animated by air. Guillaume Coustou may have been influenced by Bouchardon's heroes when in 1739 he created models of his *Horse Tamers* for the Abreuvoir of Marly (Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 1, p. 161, ill.). Bouchardon himself could have recollected the two groups showing Meleager Killing a Deer and a Boar (1703–6) of Coustou's brother Nicolas at Marly (Souchal 1977, p. 166, ill.), even if the latter are far less evocative. At Grosbois, Bouchardon expanded a royal commission to create a fictive pair that entered into the great French tradition of garden statuary.

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JEAN-BAPTISTE PIGALLE

Paris, 1714–Paris, 1785

The Citizen

Terracotta, 26.3 × 14.7 × 13.3 cm (10³/₈ × 5³/₄ × 5¹/₄ in.)

A handwritten note, now obliterated, on the underside of the base; the 1876 museum catalogue gave a transcription: *Maquette de la figure du citoyen qui est du groupe de la statue de Louis XV, à Reims, faite par Pigalle et qu'il m'a donnée en septembre 1766. Desfriches* (Maquette of the figure of the citizen that belongs to the group of the statue of Louis XV in Reims, made by Pigalle and which he gave me in September 1766. Desfriches) Orléans, Musée des Beaux-Arts (1782)

PROVENANCE

Orléans, Aignan-Thomas Desfriches (1715–1800), connoisseur and friend of Pigalle, September 1766; probably donated to the museum by his daughter, Mme de Limay, about 1825

REFERENCES

Musée d'Orléans 1876, p. 218, no. 624; Marcille 1878, p. 167; Marquet de Vasselot 1896, pp. 391–96, ill.; Lami 1910–11, vol. 2, p. 250; Rocheblave 1919, p. 236, pl. iv; Vitry 1929, pp. 242–43; Réau 1936, p. 16; Réau 1950, p. 158, fig. 17; Gaborit 1985, p. 66, ill.; Champion 1998, p. 233, no. 483, ill.; Scherf 2001, pp. 77–78, ill.

It was probably in 1755 that Pigalle was approached to create a monument to Louis XV in the newly completed place Royale in Reims. The contract, dated December 18, 1758, made the sculptor responsible for a standing statue of the king and two figures to be placed at the pedestal's base (the composition approved by the king). The large models of the figures were finished by early 1761 and were cast in bronze in 1763. In August 1765 the monument was inaugurated in Reims. The statue of Louis XV disappeared during the Revolution, but the pedestal sculptures are still visible in situ. Charles-Nicolas Cochin made drawings of the entire monument and of each of the two pedestal figures; the three drawings were engraved by Pierre-Étienne Moitte (fig. 75; C. Michel 1987, pp. 376–77).

Pigalle's program was an expression of Enlightenment ideals. In the *Siècle de Louis XIV* (1751; Voltaire, *The Age of Louis XIV*, trans. Martyn P. Pollack [London and New York, 1951], p. 318), Voltaire had written "It is a time-honoured practice for sculptors to carve figures of slaves at the base of the statues of kings. It would be better still to represent there free and happy citizens." Pigalle himself wrote to Voltaire on July 3, 1763:

When I was chosen for the execution of this monument, I was still struck by the idea of a thought that I had once read in your works. . . . There you faulted the practice that



Fig. 75

After Pigalle,
drawn by Cochin and
engraved by Moitte,
*The Monument to Louis XV
on the Place Royale in Reims*,
1765, engraving. Paris,
Bibliothèque Nationale
de France.

has been current up to now of putting slaves in chains around monuments of this kind, as if one could only commend the great in terms of the ills they had visited on humanity. . . . I have posed the figure of Louis XV standing . . . I have dressed him in the Roman manner, crowned with laurels. He stretches forth one hand to take the people under his protection. At the two sides of the pedestal are two emblematic figures. . . . The Gentleness of Government is represented by a woman holding a rudder in one hand and with the other leading an unfettered lion by the mane, to express the fact that the Frenchman, despite his strength, submits willingly to a gentle government. The Felicity of Peoples is rendered by a happy citizen enjoying perfect repose amidst abundance. . . . The olive tree grows beside him; he is seated on bundles of merchandise; he has his purse open to show his sense of security. (Quoted by Réau 1950, pp. 53–54)

For the equestrian statue of Louis XV, commissioned in 1748, in the place Louis XV (now place de la Concorde) in Paris, Bouchardon had refused to install slaves in chains like those that decorated the monuments of Henri IV (Pont-Neuf) and Louis XIV (place des Victoires). Instead, three of the cardinal virtues (Prudence, Justice, and Fortitude) and the Love of Peace, personified by caryatids, gave the sovereign a more pacific mien than the bellicose stance. Similarly, in Reims, the pedestal figures shift the message of the royal monument toward social humanism: Louis XV's "attitude, the entire ensemble of his figure and all the accompaniments that are artfully strewn around him, make it evident at first glance that he is no depository of supreme power, whether to prevent evil or to do good" (Mopinot de La Chapotte 1786, p. 7).

Diderot criticized Pigalle's iconographic choices, suggesting simpler images: a nude peasant resting between the horns of a bull (Agriculture) and "a good fat peasant woman who is nursing a child" (Population), while retaining the idea of the "porter sleeping on his bundles" (Commerce) (*Essais sur la peinture* [1765]; Diderot 1984, pp. 58–59). The figure of the Citizen was, at the request of the sponsors in Reims, a self-portrait of Pigalle (Mopinot de La Chapotte 1786, p. 7). It is a fine example of the sculptor's aesthetic, always grounded in the representation of the real, the true. The man is not an idealized, heroic figure: his body is lumpy, his pose uncomfortable, his face expressive of fatigue after hard labor.

The Orléans terracotta is the first, spontaneous sketch for this plebeian figure, probably made shortly after the December 1758 contract was agreed to. Vigorously executed, the form is a virtuosic construction of clay pellets flattened and then cut, smoothed, and scored. While the side views have been indicated with the hurried placement of secondary elements, the back of the work (which would be masked by the base of the statue of Louis XV)

was not; a hollow indicates perhaps the fall of part of the clay block as it dried, or its intentional removal to avoid expansion in the firing (serious cracks are noticeable on the back). Pigalle subsequently made alterations to his composition: he retained the general idea of a man worn out by work, his body slumped, but he modified the attitude (especially that of the right arm), changed the placement of the wolf and the lamb sleeping together at the man's feet (their presence is mentioned in the contract of December 18, 1758; Gaborit 1985, p. 66), and retained only one of the two receptacles at his side.

GS

53

PETER ANTON VERSCHAFFELT

Ghent, 1710–Mannheim, 1793

Charles Theodore, Prince Elector of the Rhenish Palatinate

Terracotta, 62 × 23 × 17 cm (24³/₈ × 9 × 6³/₄ in.)

Mannheim, Reiss-Engelhorn Museen, Kunstgeschichtliche Sammlungen (U 97)

PROVENANCE

Gift of Carl Baer to the museum, 1908

EXHIBITION

Mannheim and Düsseldorf 1999–2000, vol. 2, no. 2.1.7, ill.

REFERENCES

Volk 1973, pp. 415–16, fig. 8; Hofmann 1982, pp. 151–54

This statuette is one of the models for the marble statue (fig. 76) that occupies a niche in the Rittersaal, or knights' hall, of Schloss Mannheim. The other, slightly larger (H. 67 cm [26³/₈ in.]), is in the Historisches Museum, Speyer.

Construction of the palace was begun in 1720 by the prince elector of the Rhenish Palatinate Charles Philip, of the Pfalz-Neuburg branch of the Wittelsbach family, who abandoned Heidelberg, which had been ravaged by the French troops, and transferred his court to Mannheim. His nephew and successor in 1743 was Charles Theodore (1724–1799), a Wittelsbach of the Pfalz-Sulzbach branch, to whom Charles Philip had given his granddaughter Elizabeth Augusta in marriage in 1742. Charles Theodore made considerable improvements to the palace, aided by the Frenchman Nicolas de Pigage, who was his principal architect beginning in 1752. The prince was an exemplar of the Enlightenment and a protector of the arts. He was a great friend of Voltaire's (the philosophe stayed at Mannheim and Schwetzingen, the prince's summer



pediment of the palace's library (*Allegory of the Protection of the Arts, Sciences, and Agriculture under the Reign of Charles Theodore*, 1757; Schaab 1996, p. 21, ill.), and the marble statues of Charles Theodore (Schaab 1996, p. 26, ill.) and his wife, realized in 1758 and 1760, respectively, still stand in the Rittersaal.

Among Verschaffelt's numerous extant drawings is a rapid sketch of his statue of Charles Theodore, done in about 1755 (Mannheim 1976, no. 37, ill.). The prince, represented as an army general, is covered by a full cloak; his left hand is placed on his hip, and with his right he holds out a baton of command; a helmet rests on the ground. The artist has indicated the pedestal with its beveled profile and the niche. In the present terracotta model the prince's costume has changed: he is clad in a cuirass and his robe of office, a ceremonial garment lined with ermine, with his crown displayed before him. His right hand, now damaged, does not hold the baton that he raises in the marble version. The chain and insignia of the grand master of the Order of Saint Hubert, much in evidence in the marble, are absent from the terracotta. Apart from these two details the model and the statue correspond exactly, illustrating Charles Theodore's dual role as monarch and commander in chief. To represent his wife, Elizabeth Augusta, Verschaffelt first thought of a Minerva: his drawing shows her with a plumed helmet, a lance, and a shield, with an evocation of the head of Medusa on a classical-style drapery (Mannheim 1976, no. 38, ill.). Again the artist's conception of the work evolves in the terracotta: the princess, like her husband, is dressed as a sovereign, wearing a full cloak also lined with ermine and crowned with a tiara.

53

residence, in 1753 and 1758), established a chamber orchestra (praised by Mozart) that he placed at the service of great musicians ("Mannheim school"), and supported artists and scientists in developing their talents. He succeeded Maximilian Joseph III of the Bavarian branch of the family in 1777 and transferred his court to Munich, thus reuniting the various domains of the house of Wittelsbach.

In 1752 Charles Theodore engaged as first sculptor to his court a Flemish pupil of Bouchardon's, Peter Anton Verschaffelt, who had made a long stay in Rome under the protection especially of Pope Benedict XIV. The artist, who remained in the prince's service until his death, became director of the Academy of Drawing and Sculpture in Mannheim in 1758. His beautiful relief survives on the



Fig. 76
Verschaffelt,
Carl Theodore,
Prince Elector of the
Rhenish Palatinate,
1758, marble.
Mannheim

Discreetly allegorized in the antique style, with sandals and a cloak covering her tunic, the personification of Peace holds an olive branch in her right hand (since lost); her foot rests on a shield and behind her are a breastplate and fasces. The child at her side carefully holds her crown (Mannheim and Düsseldorf 1999–2000, vol. 2, no. 2.1.7, ill.). Here again the model was faithfully translated into a marble version but with the traditional attributes of Peace making the iconography explicit.

The two statues, planned for niches in the Rittersaal, were designed to be seen frontally. They were recorded in grisaille by Peter Hoch in 1766 (Mannheim and Düsseldorf 1999–2000, vol. 2, no. 2.1.8, ill.). Embodying the splendor of a regime that was both autocratic and cultivated, these are also real portraits. The prince's face in particular, with its high, clear forehead, straight nose, and large mouth, is similar to contemporary portraits of him (such as that by Anna Dorothea Therbusch, 1763; Mannheim and Düsseldorf 1999–2000, vol. 2, no. 4.0.1, ill.).

Peter Volk (1973, pp. 415–16) has suggested as a possible source of inspiration the two marble statues by Nicolas and Guillaume Coustou, *Louis XV as Jupiter* and *Marie Leszczyńska as Juno* (1731; Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 1, pp. 168, 162, ill.). Commissioned at the expense of the king by the duc d'Antin and placed in the park of the duc's château, they were installed after his death at Versailles, in 1736, in the Bosquet du Dauphin, where Verschaffelt could have seen them before he left for Italy the following year. Apart from obvious stylistic differences, there is a thematic analogy between these works. While the French sovereigns are an embodiment of the most powerful divine couple (Jupiter and Juno), the prince elector of the Rhenish Palatinate and his spouse uphold the glory of their reign regarding peace as the ideal and war as a last resort.

The models in terracotta, carefully smoothed, were prepared to give an impression of the future marbles; they were no doubt shown to the sovereigns for their approval.

GS

LAURENT DELVAUX

Ghent, 1696–Nivelles, 1778

Hercules

Terracotta, 67.7 × 34.3 × 33.5 cm (26½ × 13½ × 13¼ in.)

Inscribed beneath the club: *L.D.*

Brussels, Musée Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique (9416)

PROVENANCE

Château de Dieleghem, Jette, Edmond Morren, 1880; Brussels, Mme Jules Morren, 1914–30; Antwerp, Mlle B. Van der Boordt; acquired by the museum in 1980

EXHIBITIONS

Brussels 1930, no. 67; Brussels 1985–86, no. 1, ill.

REFERENCES

Fiévet 1880, p. 35; Willame 1914, p. 78, no. 225; Jacobs 1999, p. 459, no. 1 s271, ill.

This is the small model for Laurent Delvaux's *Hercules* (fig. 77), one of the most important sculptures realized in Brussels in the eighteenth century. Beginning in 1750, Delvaux was court sculptor to Charles of Lorraine, governor-general of the Low Countries and brother-in-law of Maria Theresa, empress of Austria. The commission for a monumental work for the prince's new palace in Brussels thus fell to him by right of office. He executed a colossal *Hercules* in marble, which was placed at the foot of the main staircase of the sumptuous building, a "creation emblematic of the palace [and a] manifesto of personal glorification" (Jacobs 1999, p. 41; the statue remains in situ). The sculpture was carved between November 1768, when the marble arrived at Nivelles, and May 5, 1770, when it was put in place (marble signed and dated 1770). Constructed during the 1760s, the ceremonial main staircase was on a spectacular scale. The walls up to the second floor were faced in white stone, a neutral background for the sculpture. The upper part, richly finished with stuccos, displayed pilasters with Corinthian capitals, high reliefs representing the four elements, and niches with statues. The staircase and landing were covered with marble plaques; the banister was decorated with eleven reliefs in copper of scenes from the life of Hercules (these were removed in 1794). A monumental work is rarely sited at the foot of a staircase. Here Hercules towers over the visitor; omnipresent as one mounts the steps, he is the pivot around which the space is organized. The hero looks toward a window that then gave onto the palace's inner courtyard and allowed the work to be seen in bright natural light.

It is not known who chose the subject, but the matter must have been given much thought. Alain Jacobs suggests that a female allegory, *The Strength of Courage* (private coll.; Jacobs 1999, pp. 457–58, no. s268, ill.), relying on



source: the Farnese *Hercules*, of which Delvaux had made—probably during his stay in Rome (1728–32)—a small-scale version in terracotta that he kept in his studio (private coll.; Jacobs 1999, p. 106, fig. 32, and p. 246, no. s29, ill.) as well as in one marble (Jacobs 1999, pp. 263–64, no. s53, ill.). While the Farnese *Hercules* is shown at ease, leaning on his club with a feeling of languor, Delvaux's *Hercules* is powerfully erect, his right hand placed on his hip as a sign of authority, his left hand extended by a club that could be a scepter of command.

A first terracotta sketch (27 × 9 cm [10⁵/₈ × 3¹/₂ in.]; private coll.; Jacobs 1999, p. 458, no. s269, ill.) is a summary treatment of the hero with the club part of the same clay block as the rockery and the strips of the lion skin. The modeling is remarkably fresh in the placement of masses and in the relationship between the solids and the voids. This terracotta was fired and kept in the studio as a guide to the elaboration of the final work. The small model of *Hercules* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (H. 52.5 cm [20⁵/₈ in.]; Jacobs 1999, pp. 458–59, no. s270, ill.) is a refinement of the first sketch: the face is more clearly worked, and the body is smoothed, emphasizing the musculature; the lion skin, shield, club, and horn of plenty have all been particularized; and the arms of Charles de Lorraine have been added. The theme is clearly enunciated by the apples from the Hesperides now held in Hercules' right hand. The introduction of this detail suggests that Delvaux may have known the classical marble *Hercules Holding the Apples from the Garden of the Hesperides* in the collection of the earl of Pembroke at Wilton House, which was engraved in 1758 (Kennedy 1758, pp. 22–23, ill.).

The model seen here, which is close to the marble version and probably dates from 1768, gives a sober and definitive view of the subject. The cumbersome shield with the coat of arms has been suppressed; only the initial of the prince's Christian name with the crosses of

Ripa's *Iconologia* (Rome, 1593; Ripa 1644 [1976 ed.], pt. 2, p. 85), was Delvaux's first project for this commission: the figure leans on a club, and her forearm is draped with a lion skin, two details that are repeated in the *Hercules*. However, a heroic representation of Virtue, also described by Ripa, was selected: Hercules holds apples from the garden of the Hesperides, which "together comprise the three heroic Virtues attributed to this tamer of monsters, namely, moderation of anger, hatred conceived against avarice, and contempt for sensual delights, whereby men allow themselves to be bewitched" (Ripa 1644 [1976 ed.], pt. 2, p. 85). The Hercules no doubt recommended itself to Charles de Lorraine's advisers as an appropriate surrogate for the prince, like the colossal *Hercules* that has stood in the Palais Lobkowitz in Vienna since the late seventeenth century. Both works clearly have the same well-known



Fig. 77
Delvaux, *Hercules*,
1770, marble.
Brussels, Palace of
Charles-Alexandre
de Lorraine

Lorraine and the Teutonic Order is inscribed on the club. Hercules is erect; the resolute turn of his head emphasizes his air of authority. Finally, the statue stands on a mound, which is not detailed in the model; the marble shows mythical animals (salamander, serpent) and a horn of plenty; the terracotta presents little more than the Erymanthian Boar, chained alive by the hero.

Careful occult readings of the monument have been presented by Jacques Van Lennep (1987, pp. 161–71), Alain Jacobs (1999, pp. 463–65), and Claudine Lemaire (2000, pp. 27–30). It is in fact evident that Delvaux's *Hercules* was conceived in terms of the decorative ensemble of the staircase (in particular the reliefs of the four elements), with its "indisputable Masonic iconography" (Jacobs 1999, p. 462), and the ceiling painting that showed the sun traversing the universe marked by the signs of the zodiac. Charles-Alexandre de Lorraine took a great interest in alchemy (he had several laboratories in his palaces and a large number of relevant texts in his libraries). "The choice of Hercules would have been determined by an alchemical interpretation of the ancient myth. On the one hand he was by way of being the founder of Gaul and its dynasties, and thus of the house of Lorraine. On the other he personified the adept par excellence. The labors that the hero accomplished magnified those that the Masonic adept had to execute in order to obtain the philosopher's stone [and] symbolized . . . the way to perfection, the path toward Truth, toward Light" (Jacobs 1999, p. 463). "Charles de Lorraine saw himself very much as an alchemist Hercules, holding his power on this earth from the mythical founder of the Gallic dynasties, emanation of divine light, and unable to exercise it fully without this alchemy, key to the power of the man-god" (Van Lennep 1987, pp. 167–68). If the statue evokes man's aspiration to rise above his limitations, it presents more immediately the hero as a personification of strength, with whom the master of the house identifies himself. "Man is endowed with a wholly heroic Virtue when he has subdued his unruly passions by the exercise of such a high and perfect reason that it raises him above the mortal condition, and renders him almost similar to the angels" (Ripa 1644 [1976 ed.], pt. 1, p. 197).

This astonishing composition is seen to great advantage in the marble. Its sense of turning in space creates many points of view. The rocky base with its boar, somewhat incongruous in the model, makes perfect sense in the marble, where it invites visitors to approach. This pedestal becomes an indispensable liaison between the monument and the surrounding space. In the terracotta the figure and the base were modeled and fired separately. Detailed studies exist of the head of Hercules (Jacobs 1999, pp. 459, 460, nos. s272, s273, ill.) and of the boar (Jacobs 1999, pp. 460–66, no. s274, ill.). At the statuette's back the rock serves as a support, essential to the stability of the future marble.

The terracotta has been covered with an orangy color

that unifies the surface without obscuring the vigorous modeling of the male nude or the subtle treatment of the animal hides. GS

55

JOSEPH CHINARD

Lyon, 1756–Lyon, 1813

Project for a Monument to Bayard

Terracotta, 60 × 28 × 23 cm (23 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 11 × 9 in.), not including the base of white marble with gilt metal chains and stanchions
Inscribed on the open book held by the winged genius at the back: *LE / CHEVALIER / SANS / PEUR ET / SANS / REPROCHE* (the knight without fear and without blame); on the edge of the king's skirt, hard to decipher: *FRANCOIS. DIT. LE. RESTOR. [?]*. Another inscription, indecipherable, on the relief of the bridge at Garigliano; incised before firing on the edge of the cushion at the front: *CHINARD 1789*
Avignon, Musée Louis Voulard (125.0)

PROVENANCE

M. Ostheimer, Paris (1937); acquired by Louis Voulard in 1950; entered the museum with his collection in 1982

EXHIBITION

Paris 1937, no. 1033 (probably this work, although its height is listed as 80 cm [31 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.], perhaps an estimate that included the marble platform)

REFERENCES

Cantinelli 1905, pp. 144–46; Lami 1910–11, vol. 1, p. 200; P. Michel 1992, passim, ill.; Draper in Paris and New York 1997–98, pp. 157–59

During the reign of Louis XVI historic royalist heroes were greatly lionized. None was more honored than Pierre Berrail, the seigneur de Bayard (1473–1524), always styled the *chevalier sans peur et sans reproche* (the knight without fear and above reproach). For the main motif here Chinard has chosen the moment when Bayard knighted his young king, Francis I, after the king's victory at the Battle of Marignano, near Milan (September 13–14, 1515). This reversal of roles—a knight dubbing his monarch—took place on the battlefield at the conclusion of the French victory over the Swiss Confederation. As Patrick Michel (1992) said, in developing this exceptionally large and extravagant model, Chinard took pains researching the swelling Bayard literature, which proliferated in the 1780s, for accuracy of such Renaissance period details as the golden spurs which Bayard presented to Francis, who wears his usual plumed bonnet. The two stand on a cloth laid across a field strewn with trophies including the helmets of the Swiss landsknechts. Below is a broad oval band (something like the horizontal bands of contemporaneous clocks, as noted

by Michel [see cat. no. 20]). Four dashing modeled scenes incised in low relief appear on the band: on the front, the Courtesy of Bayard (in which he renders thanks to a woman who nursed him after the siege of Brescia in 1512); on the back, the bridge at Garigliano, where Bayard single-handedly fought off two hundred Spaniards (1503); on the left, the Contenance of Bayard, in which he endows a young girl with a dowry rather than see her succumb to dishonor (1512); and on the right, the Death of Bayard (1524).

The upper group of Bayard and Francis is separately modeled and expertly fitted into the cylindrical base that bears the reliefs. Four female figures appear to support the monument. They commingle the attributes of the cardinal virtues which animated Bayard. The one at the right front is Fortitude, personified by a helmeted Minerva. Prudence, her counterpart at left, is clad as a Vestal. Temperance and Justice occupy the rear corners. The serpent forming a ring, which is crushed beneath the monument, probably stands for Eternity (Tervarent 1997, pp. 404–4, p. 346). The back of the work is dominated by the young genius, a typical Chinard ephebe, who inscribes Bayard's courtly motto in an open book. Michel has detailed Chinard's visual sources. For the Fortitude-Minerva on the corner he compares Clodion's statuette of 1766 (cat. no. 43). This resemblance is not striking, given the inward turn of Chinard's figure, but Chinard and Clodion similarly display immense technical skill in assembling monuments of great complexity. The way in which the group nestles as a separate entity into the base while the virtues rise above the base's rim recalls a most unclassical work of only a few years earlier, Clodion's *Balloon Monument* in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 10; Draper 1991–92, pp. 22–24). Otherwise Chinard's strict Neoclassicism moves light-years beyond Clodion.

The project is not without infelicities, many of them rooted in Chinard's singular devotion to logic. The embracing king and knight are disproportionately taller than the virtues, but Chinard was visualizing the monument as a much larger marble, so that the viewer's upward gaze would foreshorten the surmounting figures, bringing them into harmony with the rest. The virtues facing in the same direction create an odd effect (perhaps they deliberately depart from usage in the medieval monuments he consulted, such as Michel Colombe's tomb commissioned by Anne of Brittany in Nantes cathedral, where each virtue faces out from her corner; Panofsky 1964, pl. 327). Given Chinard's decision to make them seem to bear the weight of the monument, however, it would have been odder still if they threatened to drop it by following independent courses.

The monument to Bayard was to have been erected in Grenoble, the city to which his body was taken after he died. Mooted by 1787, it was to have been financed by a public subscription on the part of the local citizenry, backed by powerful figures including the duc d'Orléans.

In the initial enthusiasm, a sort of competition evolved. In 1788 the *Affiches* of the Dauphiné reported that the subscription would be announced "soon after the selection of the artist to undertake this important work. Several of the most able in Europe have been written to and asked for models or ideas for a composition worthy of Bayard" (*Affiches* of March 14, 1788; P. Michel 1992, p. 131).

It is amazing how much leeway the participants felt they had, at least initially. Augustin Pajou was one of those approached. His drawing survives, in which he envisions the tomb in a niche (fig. 78; Paris and New York 1997–98, no. 61, ill.). Paintings of the Death of Bayard had in fact appeared in England earlier than in France, and Pajou's design shows awareness of that by Benjamin West (1772; British royal collections; Erffa and Staley 1986, p. 203, no. 77, ill. p. 67), undoubtedly known through an engraving. In any event, Pajou's Late Baroque flourishes would have looked very out of date by contrast with Chinard's Neoclassical rigors.

Even Antonio Canova, by now celebrated as offering the last word in Neoclassicism, was approached, but he was relieved to decline, his hands being full with the tomb of Clement XIII. In 1787 Canova wrote, "This last year I did not want to accept the commission offered to me by His Eminence the Cardinal de Bernis, minister of France to the Holy See, and this was the monument to the famous knight, Bayard, well known in the history of France; in order to make this mausoleum several men, including the duc d'Orléans, have joined forces with the knight's homeland. The order for this work came from France, but I, if heaven grants me grace to finish the mausoleum to the sacred memory of Clement XIII . . . I will certainly make no more mausoleums—works that are too complicated and try to bring together a mishmash of elements [*un caos di cose*]" (Canova 1994, p. 220). Canova cannot have seen Chinard's mixture, which was concocted in Lyon, but a rather pained reaction can perhaps be imagined. Nevertheless the present work is an early example of the Renaissance revival that in painting would become known as the *style troubadour*, and Chinard's attempt to merge Gothic and Renaissance motifs with his overall Neoclassical predilections remains both learned and original.

In the absence of a contract, we have it from Chinard's own mouth that his was the winning design. Speaking in the third person, "Upon his return from Rome [he came back to Lyon at the end of 1787], he was admitted to the competition for the monument to Bayard which was to be erected in the public square of Grenoble . . . whose execution was entrusted to him and which was suspended by the Revolution" (Cantinelli 1905, pp. 144–46). An 1803 letter of Chinard's refines this information: "It is I who, presented by Terray [a Lyonnais official], in 1787 won the honor, following a competition among several artists, to undertake the execution of the monument to Bayard: I produced the drawings and models for it which



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55 (detail, *The Continence of Bayard*)



55 (detail, *The Death of Bayard*)

were sent and deposited in the Intendance of Grenoble” (letter from Chinard to the president of the academy of Grenoble, 17 *fructidor*, year XIII [1803], cited by P. Michel 1992, pp. 132, 138 n. 22).

Michel was the first to publish one of the drawings to which Chinard alludes (fig. 79). (The work of identifying his drawings is just beginning.) There are several differences between this one and the more advanced terracotta. The steps of the model’s platform, greater in number and higher than those of the drawing, lead the

eye to correct at least somewhat the disparity in size between the virtues and Bayard and the king. Bayard dominates less in the drawing, looming a bit less strikingly over King Francis in this rare show of monarchical and knightly reciprocity. The convex frieze on the front of the drawing’s mausoleum represents the Death of Bayard (as in Pajou’s main surmounting group). Neither drawing nor model indicates whether Bayard would actually be interred within the monument, an intention that seems evident in Pajou’s drawing and in Canova’s use of the



Fig. 78
Pajou, *Tomb of Bayard*, about 1788,
black chalk. Musée de Grenoble



55 (reverse)

word *mausoleum*. Chinard clearly understood that it was to be outdoors and in the round.

The model, in Chinard's preferred honey-buff clay, has survived amazingly intact, the only losses of consequence being the bridle of Temperance and the sword of Justice at the back.

JDD



Fig. 79
Chinard, *Project for a
Monument to
Bayard*, about 1789,
ink and wash. Private
collection

JOSEPH CHINARD

Lyon, 1756 – Lyon, 1813

Liberty Crowning the French People

Terracotta, 65.5 × 35 × 35 cm (25¾ × 13¾ × 13¾ in.)

Inscribed on the personification of the French People: his forehead, *Lumière* [Light]; his arms, *Force* [Strength]; his hands, *Travail* [Work]; and on his baldric, *LE PEUPLE FRANCAIS* [The French People]; on Liberty's girdle: *LIBERTE* [Liberty]; on the base: *DROITS DE L'HOMME / médaille du 10 août* [Rights of Man / medal of August 10]

Paris, Musée Carnavalet (S 926)

PROVENANCE

Perhaps sale, Paris, coll. B., December 27, 1850: "Terracotta. Liberty. Hercules" (?); Lyon, Benoît, architect, before 1897; Dr. Édouard Carrier, 1897; acquired by the museum in 1902

EXHIBITION

Paris 1989, no. 862, ill.

REFERENCES

La Chapelle 1896–97, vol. 1, pp. 45–46; Lami 1910–11, vol. 1, p. 202; Desvernay 1915, p. 127; Bordes 1988, pp. 115–17, fig. 91; Sorel 1992, pp. 354–57, fig. 94; Rocher-Jauneau 1998, p. 549

Paris only

This virtuosic work represents Liberty, an appealing figure exquisitely draped in the antique manner. She holds a wreath that she is about to place on the head of the French People, personified by the vigorous nude athlete who holds Liberty aloft. The words *Lumière*, *Force*, and *Travail* (Light, Strength, and Work) are inscribed on his body: Jacques-Louis David had proposed placing these same words on the statue of the French People that was authorized by a decree of the Convention on November 17, 1793 (Sorel 1992, p. 355), which was not realized.

The hero tramples underfoot the insignia of ancient power, associated with despotism: fleurs-de-lis, the Bible, a crucifix. On the upper part of the base a festival of dechristianization is in progress. Leading a burlesque cortege, two women dance the farandole. Following are a man dressed in a chasuble and wearing a Phrygian cap, using an upside-down cross as a walking stick, and a chariot with the attributes of Religion and a sans-culotte brandishing a cross. Then comes the popular motif of the promenade of the donkey, dressed in priestly robes and a miter; the animal is surrounded by soldiers variously carrying a bayonet, drinking from a chalice, dressed in a cope, and flourishing a monstrance. A new cult takes the place of the old religion. On a litter decorated with formal draperies, the sans-culottes display the bust of Chalier, martyr of the Revolution (not that of Marat, as La Chapelle thought; Chalier is identified by the inscription on the litter: *mon coeur aux patriotes* [my

heart to the patriots]), one of the last utterances of the Lyon Jacobin before his execution by the counterrevolutionaries on July 17, 1793). A chariot closes the procession. The base rests on a representation of the terrestrial globe, crushing the hydra of Religion, a papal tiara, chains, and various creeping animals (toads, snakes, and the like), which can be associated with the defeated royalist rebels. The whole is placed under an invocation of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, and medals commemorating the fall of royalty on August 10, 1792, are well in evidence on the front of the base.

The ceremonies in honor of Chalier took place in Lyon at the end of 1793, shortly after the Jacobins had retaken the rebel city. On December 13 Chinard was commissioned by the tribunal of the district to make a bust of the martyr. At the time the sculptor, suspected of moderatism, was in prison, where he had been since October, but he had the means to sculpt; in particular he executed a statuette of Liberty similar to the present allegory (Sorel 1992, fig. 100). It is, however, difficult to imagine that he could have created a group as complex as *Liberty Crowning the French People* while in prison (Sorel 1992, p. 355; Rocher-Jauneau 1998, p. 549). He may, in fact, have done it in the spring of 1794, since he was freed in February of that year and was in good standing with the Lyon government. The wave of dechristianization was at its highest (Vovelle 1988, p. 164), and Chinard played an active part in various celebrations of the Revolution. He may have received a commission for a monumental sculpture, or he may



Fig. 80
Chinard, *Love of Country*,
about 1790–91, terracotta.
Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts



have hoped that his model would eventually be realized on a colossal scale. There are no extant documents, but Philippe Sorel has connected the terracotta with the Parisian project of a statue to the French People. Chinard did not participate in this competition, but he may have anticipated a similar monument in Lyon.

The present terracotta fits remarkably well into the trajectory of Chinard's artistic career. The physical types used by the artist belong to his world: very similar ones are to be found in the group *Liberty Crowning the Genius of France*, also titled *The Love of Country* (following the inscription on its altar), which is a few years earlier in date (about 1790–91; fig. 80; see Sorel 1992, p. 354, fig. 99; Lyon 1989–90, p. 74, no. 21, ill.), and the personification of the French People is a kinsman of Perseus (cat. no. 35). The pedestal with its historiated frieze is familiar from other works, for example, by Chinard in *Perseus Delivering Andromeda* (cat. no. 36) and above all in the *Monument to Bayard* (cat. no. 55). The *Bayard* can in fact be considered as a pendant of the present work: it already contains the idea of a hero trampling on various symbols and of a large round mass crushing malevolent reptiles.

The present composition recalls the image of Diomedes carrying off the Palladium (the statue of Pallas Athena that protected the city of Troy); an antique cameo of this scene in the collection of Lorenzo the Magnificent was widely reproduced (Kagan 1997, p. 287, fig. 12).

GS



57

JEAN-BAPTISTE STOUF

Paris, 1742–Charenton-le-Pont, 1826

Monument to Jean-Jacques Rousseau

Terracotta, 36 × 33.5 × 21.5 cm (14 1/8 × 13 1/8 × 8 1/2 in.)

Inscribed on the plinth: *Stouf 1790*; on the column: *Emile. / La Nouvelle / Heloise. / Contrat / Social / .&*

Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs (D 792)

PROVENANCE

Bioche de l'Isle in 1791; Jules Maciet (1846–1911); his gift, 1882

EXHIBITIONS

Paris, Salon of 1791, no. 527; Paris 1962, no. 503; Paris 1989, no. 1121, ill.

REFERENCES

Vitry 1912, pp. 106–7, ill.; Réau 1936, p. 20; Draper 1970, p. 380, fig. 5; Campbell 1982, p. 282 n. 48; Gramaccini 1989, p. 894; Scherf 1997, p. 58

This model is one of the few surviving pieces that document efforts to erect a monument to Jean-Jacques Rousseau in Paris during the 1790s. A subscription was launched by the *Révolutions de Paris* on February 12, 1790 (Gramaccini 1989, p. 894). On December 21 the National Assembly decreed “that there shall be raised a statue to the memory of the author of the *Contrat social* and of



Fig. 81
Lucas de Montigny,
Jean-Jacques Rousseau Seated,
1791, terracotta.
Brussels, Musées Royaux
d'Art et d'Histoire

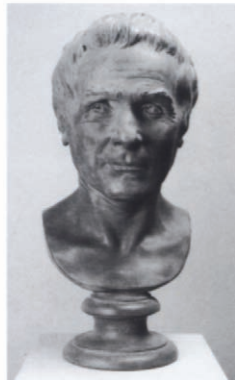


Fig. 82
Houdon,
Jean-Jacques Rousseau,
1778, bronze-tinted plaster.
Gotha, Schlossmuseum und
Galerie für Moderne Kunst



57 (reverse)

Émile; that on one of the sides of the pedestal shall be written these words: 'À la France libre, à J. J. Rousseau' ['To a free France, to J. J. Rousseau'] and on the other, these: 'Vitam impendere vero' ['Dedicate life to truth,' from Juvenal]"; the latter was the author's motto (also found, for example, on the 1763 portrait of him engraved by Cathelin after La Tour). In February 1791 and again in September of that year supplementary decrees authorized a competition. This did not materialize, although Houdon had been temporarily convinced that the commission was to be his. It was not until a new decree was issued on April 24, 1794, that the competition finally took place (see cat. no. 113).

Unlike his colleagues Moitte, Julien, and Dejoux, Jean-Baptiste Stouf was not listed by the *Révolutions de Paris* among the subscribers to the project. Appointed commissioner of the competition by the Académie (Vitry 1912, p. 106), he could not take part in it. As conseiller municipal of the town of Montmorency since 1790 and captain of the Garde Nationale (Buffenoir 1913, pp. 214–15), he organized a celebration there in memory of the philosopher on September 25, 1791. On this occasion a bust of Rousseau was set up on an altar with the following inscription: "The inhabitants of the town and canton of Montmorency in memory of J. J. Rousseau's residence

among them . . ." (*Révolutions de Paris*, p. 583, no. 116; cited by Campbell 1982, p. 282).

The present terracotta, dated 1790, was exhibited at the Salon of 1791, together with plaster models by Chaudet, Monot, and Lucas de Montigny. Chaudet's *Rousseau*, described in the first *livret* of the Salon (Scherf 1997, p. 60), "is seated at the foot of an oak, trampling underfoot the idol of prejudice"; that by Monot is shown "reflecting on his *Contrat Social*" (Scherf 1997, p. 58; for a comparable terracotta in the Louvre, see Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 2, p. 721, ill.); that by Lucas de Montigny, known from a superb terracotta dated 1790 (fig. 81), shows us the writer in pensive mood, seated above his works, holding in one hand a scroll and in the other a botanical leaf; the presence of a child evokes *Émile* (see Brussels 1975, no. 76, fig. 16). Stouf's work is radically different from these three: it is not Rousseau the man who is represented but the hero destined for the pantheon. The terracotta is described in the first *livret* of the Salon (no. 245): "Sketch of a group, the subject of which is allegorical of J. J. Rousseau: a mother and her children pay homage to his bust, laying a civic crown below it. This group, measuring 18 *pouces* [48.9 cm (19½ in.)] belongs to M. Bioche de l'Isle." A sparer description appears in the second *livret* (no. 527), the first having been pulped: "Allegorical

sketch in terracotta, to the glory of J. J. Rousseau." Nothing is known about Bioche de l'Isle, who commissioned or acquired the work, or about the history of the work before it entered Jules Maciet's fine collection in the late nineteenth century.

Stouf's composition is an ambitious one: an adolescent genius with a flame atop his head (indicating divinity and also "the natural desire for knowledge"; Ripa 1618, [1992 ed.], pp. 104–5 ["Divinità"], 196–97 ["Intelletto"]), a favorable genius ("The good genius represented by the figure of a winged child with a small flame on its head," Boudard 1759, vol. 2, p. 42) holding the trumpet of Fame, crowns the bust of Rousseau. The writer is represented with short hair, nude in the antique manner as in Houdon's portrait (fig. 82). The bust is decorated with a garland of flowers and a drapery, and is set on a column inscribed with the titles of Rousseau's three most celebrated works. The column is placed on a stepped plinth, emphasizing the subject's eminence. On the right a mother and her two children lay "a civic crown" at the column's foot. This iconographic detail, from the first *livret* of 1791, connects the monument with the revolutionary debates of the time: not only is the writer's genius celebrated but also his political intentions. On the left an infant holding a lyre sets one foot determinedly on the defeated figure of Envy accompanied by her serpent. The hero's feeling for nature is evoked by the plants springing from the ground. This composition is described rather severely by Vitry (1912, p. 107) as an "attractive motif in biscuit, done in the spirit of the generation that was passing rather than in the new spirit of revolutionary and Davidian art."

The composition, based on a simple scheme—the triangle, with Rousseau's head as the apex—is clearly framed: the group representing feminine sensibility (*La Nouvelle Héloïse*) is answered by that of the child (*Émile*), an individual personality who conquers false values. The civic crown (*Contrat social*) forms a triumphal base for the column elevating the philosopher to immortality. Stouf's innovative adaptation changes the older arrangement with a high base decorated with allegories into a unified composition in which the figures are interconnected. The round column invites the viewer to circle the work. The protagonists' poses are fresh and unexpected: the ecstatic young girl turning toward her mother, the outstretched arms of her brother at another level, the energetic gesture of the infant treading on Envy, whose head is hidden, and the pensive expression of the genius. Stouf is here at his best, full of invention: the girl's dress revealing her body, alive with emotion; the infant's leg, an amusing extension of his little torso; the enveloping, almost protective gesture of the genius crowning the hero. All these are treated with great expressiveness, and the details of the modeling are rich in surprises.

GS

ATTRIBUTED TO JOSEPH-CHARLES MARIN

Paris, 1759–Paris, 1834

Cybele

Terracotta, 35 × 24 × 16 cm (13¾ × 9½ × 6¼ in.)

Inscribed on the front of the base: A LA MERE DE TOUT (to the mother of all)

Paris, Musée Cognacq-Jay (J 236)

PROVENANCE

Sale, London, Christie's, coll. Ernest W. Beckett, second Baron Grimthorpe, May 8–9, 1902, no. 158 (Marin); Ernest Cognacq, Paris; by bequest, with his entire collection, to the City of Paris, 1928

EXHIBITION

Paris 1939, no. 1154 (Marin)

REFERENCES

Ricci 1929, p. 58, no. 236 (Marin); Jonas 1930, p. 66, no. 236 (Marin); Quinquenet 1948, p. 63 (Marin); Vizille 1986, p. 34 (Chinard); Bordes 1988, pp. 116–17, fig. 94 (Chinard)

This statuette was described by Seymour de Ricci in 1929: "Cybele seated on a throne, two globes at her feet, her arms resting on two lions. She holds ears of wheat in her right hand, in her left a bunch of grapes." This goddess often called Mother of the Gods (this work is inscribed "to the mother of all") is described by Ripa as Earth: "She whom you see seated and crowned with flowers represents the Earth. She holds a globe in her right hand and in her left a horn of plenty, full of all sorts of fruits. She may be depicted as a venerable lady or as a fecund woman, who, as the poets say, is the mother of all animals, with a globe in one hand to show that she is spherical and motionless. As for the garland and the horn of plenty that she wears, the one and the other signify that she produces in abundance all sorts of flowers and fruits for the nourishment of living creatures" (Ripa 1644 [1976 ed.], pt. 2, p. 4). The sculptor has departed from this description only in the arrangement of the attributes: two globes (celestial and terrestrial) are at the foot of the throne; the goddess holds ears of wheat and a bunch of grapes; and the horn of plenty is absent. Classical representations of Cybele (fig. 83) show her as a seated matron enveloped in draperies; her crown is formed of a wall and towers on her head (the goddess gave towers to the first cities; Ovid, *Fasti* 4.219), and she is flanked by two lions (whose wildness she tamed; Ovid, *Fasti* 4.219) marbles from the Giustiniani collections in the Musei Vaticani; engraved: see Stewering 2002, pp. 22–23, figs. 1, 2; also in the Farnese collection, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples: Pozzi et al. 1989, pp. 176–77, no. 154, ill.; in the example in the Prado she holds a horn of plenty). Massinelli 1991, p. 115, ill.



Fig. 83
Cybele, antique marble.
 Florence, Museo Archeologico
 (from the collections of
 Cosimo I de' Medici)



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The author of the terracotta, freeing himself from classical references, has made his *Cybele* markedly younger. Her wreath of flowers and grapes has no crenelated towers. The exposure of the goddess's breasts and broad hips, while it diminishes venerability, accentuates her carnal plenitude. This fertile image evokes a goddess of the Revolution but with a "complete erasure of political attributes" (Vizille 1986, p. 34). Bordes (1988, pp. 116–17) interprets it as an homage to Nature, "a project undoubtedly meant for a temple." The composition might derive from the statue of Regeneration that was included in the revolutionary festival of August 10, 1793 (a seminude figure seated on a throne accompanied by two lions:

Paris 1989, vol. 3, p. 727, no. 955, ill.). This statuette may have been a maquette for a specific monument expressing revolutionary ideas, or it may simply conflate the image of Nature, omnipresent in the late eighteenth century, with the *Cybele* of antiquity. The surface's high finish suggests this is in keeping with the exquisitely worked terracottas that were in vogue in the 1790s.

The attribution of this statuette is by no means unanimous. Older museum catalogues by Seymour de Ricci and Édouard Jonas attributed it to Marin, but recently it has been published as by Chinard, and several scholars have orally proposed other suggestions—Jacques-Edme Dumont, Jean-Guillaume Moitte, Pierre Julien. While the

styles of the last two of these sculptors seem incompatible with that of the terracotta, the Chinard, Dumont, and Marin hypotheses call for closer examination. The present statuette has a meticulous style, attentive to small material details (the hair against the skin and the textures of the flesh) that appear foreign to Chinard's broader and more relaxed technique. The female physical type favored by Chinard is less weighty than that seen here, and Chinard's inscriptions are less heavily rendered. The refined modeling of this *Cybele* may also bring to mind Jacques-Édouard Dumont, who was then creating terracottas that were very finished in their details—*Love Complaining to Venus about a Bee Sting*, for example, of 1797 (sale, Paris, April 24, 1989, no. 131, ill.) (fig. 112). Dumont, however, does not exhibit such a deliberate insistence on material effects.

This feature is very characteristic, however, of Marin's aesthetic. He often shows the contrast made on very smooth skin by thin strands of hair. The modeling of the grapes on the head and in the hand of the present figure is within his capability. The goddess's body, with its broad hips, is not dissimilar to *A Naiad Bearing a Shell on Her Head* in the Salon of 1793 (Draper 1991–92, p. 44, ill.). Finally, if Marin specialized at the time in small terracotta sculptures, he was also prepared to undertake monumental works: on the occasion of the Peace of Amiens in 1802, as the result of a state commission, he erected a plaster statue, *Peace Offering the Olive Branch*, on the Champs-Élysées, intended for a temple of Concord (Paris 1992b, p. 16).

GS

59

GILLES-LAMBERT GODECHARLE

Brussels, 1750–Brussels, 1835

Victory Alighting on Earth

Terracotta, 54.9 × 17.8 × 15.2 cm (21 × 7 × 6 in.)

Inscribed before firing at the back: *Godecharle int^t : f. / 1809.*

Incised on the front of the globe: *portugal, Espagne, france and mediter[r]année*

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1998.65)

PROVENANCE

F. Philippson, Brussels, in 1928–30; Mrs. Frank Richardson, New York (sale Christie's, New York, January 28, 1998, no. 197, ill., bought in; purchased by the Museum from the Gift of Irwin Untermyer, by exchange, 1998)

EXHIBITIONS

Brussels, Salon of 1813, unnumbered; Brussels Salon of 1816, unnumbered; Brussels 1930, no. 76; New York 1989, no. 109, ill.



59 (reverse)



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REFERENCES

Devigne 1928, pp. 109, 119, 120, ill.; Draper in "Recent Acquisitions" Museum 1998, pp. 40–41, ill.

The royal palace of Schoonenberg, now known as Laeken, was built on the outskirts of Brussels in 1782–84 for the governor of the Austrian-controlled Low Countries, Archduchess Maria Christine, and her husband, Albert of Saxe-Teschen. In 1789 it was vacated after the insurgence of the states of Brabant. Following the French invasion of the Low Countries, the estate was put up for sale, and in 1804 Napoleon saved it from destruction by buying it. He seldom visited it, but the château served as the imperial family's official residence in Belgium.

Godecharle had already been the château's principal sculptor (see cat. no. 63). As the Low Countries' most successful sculptor since Laurent Delvaux, he was the natural choice to carry out additions in a campaign to make the palace feel a bit more Napoleonic. Godecharle's *Victory Alighting on Earth* was delivered in January of 1810 (fig. 84; Van Ypersele de Strihou 1970, p. 217) to occupy a niche at the left of the great vestibule of the great apartments. In the right niche stood *Minerva*, in Godecharle's rather apathetic approximation of Empire taste. After a fire in 1890 the damaged *Minerva* was sent to the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts (Van Lennep 1992, p. 235, no. 10 776, ill.), while the *Victory* was moved to a less conspicuous spot in the château.

The present terracotta *Victory*, dated a year earlier than the limestone one, shows a girlish Nike with an enchanting smile and with no particular antique source. She is more angelic than triumphant, although her foot does descend onto a globe marked with the names of Napoleon's



Fig. 84
Godecharle,
Victory, 1810,
stone. Brussels,
Royal Palace
of Laeken

European conquests (in fact, by this date his designs on Spain and Portugal were being thwarted). While working on the stone *Victory*, Godecharle may have been rushed, or he may have lost heart at participating in the standard glorification of imperial aggrandizement (although it is to be noted that he named his son after the emperor). The stone retains the essential composition and meaning, but the figure is now relatively squat and mature, her face less expressive. The stone *Victory* preserves the attributes of trumpet and olive branch (with their leaden message

of peace obtained through conquest). The terracotta girl has lost these, but the comparison allows us to guess that she originally held the branch in her left hand along with a length of her floating drapery. The model's rear view, with cloud, chiton, and wings producing textural contrasts, is particularly impressive.

The raised arm has been restored. The buff clay is darker toward the bottom of the work owing to the application of a resinous substance.

JDD

Reliefs

Relief sculpture has been the subject of numerous theoretical discussions in France. In the late seventeenth century the sculptors Anguier and Regnaudin lectured on the topic at the Académie Française.¹ In the third quarter of the eighteenth century the issue was treated in the writings of Falconet, Dandré-Bardon, and Blondel, followed by those of Quatremère de Quincy and Émeric-David, and the debate was revived again in the 1820s, led by Griffoil-Dorval and David d'Angers.² The definition in Pernety's dictionary (1757) summarizes the important points:

A work in relief is raised in the round as a projection from a ground. In sculpture there are many kinds of reliefs. That which is called "*ronde-bosse*" is a freestanding figure or group in the round, unattached to a ground, such as a statue on a pedestal. The bas-relief, or *demi-bosse*, or *basse-taille*,³ has some elements partly detached from the background containing the rest of the work. There are also different types of bas-reliefs. In the first type, the figures are in the foreground and appear completely detached from the background; in the second, the figures are only in half relief, with much shallower depth; in the third, the projection of the figures is minimal.⁴

This type of classification led to a division into two camps: partisans of the relief sculpture of antiquity, with its limited number of planes, and proponents of modern relief sculpture, which tends to compete with painting, as described by Dandré-Bardon in 1765:

The Ancients practiced several types of bas-relief; but most of these that time has preserved are characterized by shallow projection, with figures completely attached

to the background. . . . The Moderns felt that in their larger compositions the Ancients lacked a variety of projections distributed across several planes. Consequently they invented a new type of bas-relief with sculptures carved in the round in some planes. Distributed throughout the composition were completely detached figures together with those in half-relief, and, in contrast to them, others in shallow relief. This combination is very likely to produce unforeseen picturesque effects and to imbue the works with a kind of coloration. . . . It would appear, in this respect, that modern sculptors were guided by sounder ideas and by more extensive knowledge than the Ancients. Their works combine, from a single viewpoint, the varied beauties of the different kinds of bas-relief, which in Antiquity could be seen only in separate works. By this ingenious assemblage, uniting the principles of bas-relief and half-relief sculpture with those of high relief in several planes, the Moderns have enriched Art with a new genre of work, making it possible to imitate with the chisel all the effects of Nature that can be produced with a brush.⁵

Neoclassical doctrine challenged this aesthetic, a position articulated by Émeric-David in 1800, for example:

The mind can adapt itself to tolerate, in a bas-relief, two planes juxtaposed one next to the other. It can even accept three planes; we have the example for this in antiquity. But good taste prevents us from following that example. If the sculptor wants to create a bas-relief like a painting, it would be as implausible as it would be difficult.⁶



Fig. 85
D'Antoine, *Battle of Kloster-Kamp*, 1776, terracotta. Château de Castries (Hérault), Institut de France



Fig. 86
Claude Ramey, *Oath of the Warriors*, early 19th century, terracotta. Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts



Fig. 87
Claude Francin, *The Greatness of the Princes*, 1751, terracotta. Paris, Musée du Louvre, on loan to the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Bordeaux

Thus, the terracotta that D'Antoine made as a preparatory sketch for his marble on the Fountain of Unicorns in Montpellier, the *Battle of Kloster-Kamp* (fig. 85), illustrates, by its borrowings from the illusionist principles of painting, the picturesque type of bas-relief endorsed by Dandré-Bardon, whereas Ramey's *Oath of the Warriors* (fig. 86) is a frieze of limited planes, as recommended by Émeric-David, as is the bas-relief *Christian Charity* by Thorvaldsen (cat. no. 67).

The debate became more heated when it dealt with the role, more or less pervasive, of the relief in architecture. Winckelmann and especially Blondel were quite

critical of it, since the illusionistic nature of sculpture made it likely to compete with the architecture:

Sculpture is completely useless to architecture if it does not serve the building by drawing attention to it and embellishing it. . . . Sculpture is no longer necessary to architecture, since decoration is not really intrinsic to the art of building, which, as we know, requires nothing aside from solidity, comfort, and symmetry. Thus there is no need to combine sculpture with architecture except when erecting temples to divinities, and putting up public monuments in cities or magnificent dwellings for rulers, and only for these singular situations of great splendor is it fitting to employ all the beauty and perfection that the Beaux-Arts can offer. . . . Today, sculpture is squandered on our facades to an extreme degree. There are few town houses that do not take on the air of mansions, and few mansions that do not assume the prominence of palaces.⁷

Imagine how severely Blondel would have criticized the mansion of Mlle Guimard (cat. no. 61) or that of Salm (cat. no. 62). Falconet had a similarly low opinion of such decorations and declared that "the shallow bas-relief, with the fewest planes, . . . has no other effect than that which arises from the architecture to which it must be completely subordinate."⁸ The model by Francin for a pediment in the place Royale in Bordeaux (fig. 87), which was meticulously transcribed in stone,⁹ follows this concept even more than those by Godecharle (see his pediment for the château of Laeken, cat. no. 63), which are more ambitious but, with their multiple planes and increased level of detail, have less legibility overall.

Falconet nonetheless defended certain uses of high relief:

But there are instances where high-relief sculpture might be used advantageously, and where the planes and projections, far from creating disorder, would actually enhance the air of truth that all imitations of nature must have. These places are ordinarily upon an altar or some other architectural element which one would perceive as penetrated or recessed sufficiently and whose extents would be grand in scale, since in a large space a modest bas-relief would have no effect at a distance. These places and this extent are like the overture in the theater, allowing the sculptor to imagine whatever depth he pleases in order to give the scene he is representing all the action, play of line and importance that the subject demands of his art. . . . This is also the type of work in which the relationship between sculpture and painting is most apparent, and can show that the principles each of them borrows from nature are absolutely the same."¹⁰

One might recognize in this the principles followed by Moitte (see cat. no. 62). Falconet declares further: "I find

in the bas-reliefs of the ancients, as well as in their beautiful statues, the grand manner in each particular object, and the noblest simplicity of composition. But as noble as this composition may be, it does not offer anything approaching the same kind of illusion that painting does. Bas-relief can always pretend at this, since every illusion is nothing but the imitation of objects in nature";¹¹ to which Quatremère de Quincy replied: "In every case in which the bas-relief is attached to an architectural member, even where it is part of a wall where there is no reason to suppose there might be any openings, the system of the ancients is preferable, because the harmony of the structure is upset by effects at creating openings into that which architecture strives to make appear solid."¹²

David d'Angers, influenced especially by a book written by Griffoul-Dorval,¹³ began in the 1830s to create a type of relief that emphasized the rendering of expressions, which, renouncing earlier references to antiquity or to painting, "in the sense of effects resolutely ignoring the verisimilitude of figures and figure groups"¹⁴ (see cat. no. 68), led to a completely new aesthetic. GS

1. Described by Charles Perrault in *Parallèle des anciens et des modernes* (1691–97).
2. See especially Scherf 1994, with bibliography.
3. There are fewer distinctions in the English vocabulary for this subject; in general, we have used "relief" throughout.
4. Antoine-Joseph Pernety, *Dictionnaire portatif de peinture, sculpture et gravure* (Paris, 1757), p. 496.
5. Michel-François Dandré-Bardon, *Essai sur la sculpture . . .*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1765), pp. 37–38, 49–50, 58–59.
6. Toussaint-Bernard Émeric-David, *Recherches sur l'art statuaire; considéré chez les anciens & les modernes . . .* (1800; rev. ed., Paris, 1863), pp. 301–2.
7. Jean-François Blondel, *Cours d'architecture, ou Traité de la décoration, distribution & construction des bâtimens . . .*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1772), pp. 202–3.
8. Pierre-Étienne Falconet, *Réflexions sur la sculpture* (Paris, 1808), p. 26.
9. Beaulieu 1961, p. 95, ill.
10. Falconet, *Réflexions sur la sculpture*, p. 27.
11. Ibid., pp. 29–30.
12. Antoine-Chrysostôme Quatremère de Quincy, "Bas-relief," in *Encyclopédie méthodique: Architecture*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1788), p. 245.
13. Griffoul-Dorval, *Essai sur la sculpture en bas-relief . . .* (Toulouse, 1821).
14. Caso 1988, p. 93.

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PHILIPPE-LAURENT ROLAND

Pont-à-Marc (Nord), 1746–Paris, 1816

Calliope and Erato

Terracotta, self-surround painted dark blue, 11.3 × 20.5 cm (4½ × 8⅞ in.), in a later frame of wood with gilding and blue paint, 18.7 × 28.7 × 6.6 cm (7⅜ × 11¼ × 2⅝ in.)

Lightly inscribed above each figure before firing, on self-surround: *Calliope* and *erato*

Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs (19683-2)

PROVENANCE

Marquis de Biron, sale, Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, June 9–11, 1914, no. 86, ill.; Maurice Fenaille, gift to the museum, 1914

REFERENCES

Alfassa 1914, p. 56; Verlet 1961, p. 168; Genoux 1964, pp. 120–23, ill.; Rodez 2000, p. 119 (listed among Fenaille's gifts to the Musée des Arts Décoratifs); Draper 1999, pp. 539–40

Philippe-Laurent Roland was an adept assistant to Augustin Pajou in decorative ensembles. He found even

more work of this sort after 1782, when he wed the daughter of the architect Nicholas-Marie Potain, Contrôleur Général des Bâtiments du Roi, thereby becoming the brother-in-law of the architect Pierre Rousseau. Among the fruitful collaborations of the brothers-in-law were their work for the hôtel de Salm-Kyrbourg (1782–83) and the royal château of Fontainebleau; in both cases, Rousseau was the responsible architect. According to his own records, at Fontainebleau Roland contracted for, among other works, "four overdoors, model and mold in plaster, for the cabinet of the queen" (Genoux 1964, p. 120). This commission was confirmed in a letter from the powerful Directeur Général des Bâtiments, the comte d'Angivillers, to Potain on June 18, 1786: "I agree that the figures which must be part of the decorations of the apartments which are being prepared for the king and the queen be entrusted to Master Roland, your son-in-law. This consideration will motivate him to take even more care in the execution" (Genoux 1964, p. 120; see also Samoyault-Verlet 1977, p. 166).

Marie Antoinette's boudoir at Fontainebleau, sometimes called her *cabinet de retraite*, is one of the château's most spectacular adornments. Roland's four plaster overdoors with paired Muses stand out against the



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shimmering golden walls and silvery arabesques (fig. 88). There are eight Muses instead of the usual nine (Genoux 1964, p. 122, notes that for purposes of symmetry, Calliope stood in for the missing Clio, both being representative of poetry). Verlet speculated that as a matter of course models would have been shown to the queen for her approval; those so submitted may well have been at a more advanced stage of development than the set of four in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, which are quite schematic vis-à-vis the finished plasters. In all four the honey-buff clay was modeled with exceptional briskness. All take Pajou as their point of departure; thus Calliope and Erato flank a lyre in this model, much as infant geniuses of Poetry and Music do in an overdoor by Pajou, no doubt assisted by Roland, at Versailles (see Paris and New York 1997–98, no. 49, ill. and p. 119, fig. 68). Although the composition was not altered in the completed plas-

ter, the design is considerably altered: a harp is placed between the girls; Calliope's attitude is totally rethought; and a less insistent symmetry is achieved. The bulge in the model at midright shows that Roland already thought of extending the cloud formation illusionistically beyond the bounds of the gilt enframements of the finished work. It is not known whether Marie-Antoinette had a say in this detail, but she surely favored the gilt trellises that rise behind the Muses in the final product and accentuate the figures' white volumes.

Models for grand décor in this diminutive scale are rare, perhaps owing to breakage during frequent handling in the working process. Later, for a private collection, the present model and its three companions were fitted with "Louis XVI" frames for protection. Plaster fills in the backs show they were once attached to a different surface in an earlier decorative context. JDD



Fig. 88
Roland, *Calliope and Erato*,
1786, plaster, partially gilt.
Musée National du Château
de Fontainebleau



61 (detail)

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FÉLIX LECOMTE

Paris, 1737–Paris, 1817

The Triumph of Terpsichore

Terracotta, 33 × 104 × 4.3 cm (13 × 41 × 1¾ in.)

Inscribed: lower left: *F. Lecomte 1770*

Saint-Jean-Cap-Ferrat, Villa Éphrussi de Rothschild, Musée Île-de-France (2194)

PROVENANCE

Béatrice de Rothschild (1864–1934), m. 1883 the financier Maurice Éphrussi; bequeathed to the Académie des Beaux-Arts de l'Institut de France by will dated February 25, 1933

REFERENCES

Scherf in Paris 1992a, p. 43, fig. 19; Tissier 1997, pp. 135, 146 n. 46, fig. 104; Champion 1998, pp. 222–23, 232–33, no. 482, ill.; Rabreau 2000, fig. 48; Goetz 2002, pp. 201–4, ill.

This terracotta is the small model for the left side of the relief that decorated the facade of the hôtel of the dancer Mlle Guimard, in the rue de la Chaussée d'Antin, Paris. This house, built by Claude-Nicolas Ledoux from 1770 to 1775 and no longer standing, owed its originality to a large, cul-de-four niche behind the colonnaded portico. "Like a seal, Lecomte's group in the round, which showed Apollo crowning Terpsichore on Earth, placed the terrestrial orb in the center of the vault, like a pearl in a shell; and the frieze of the Triumph of the Dance, with its Bacchic procession, animated the hollow of the niche where the entablature cast its shifting shadow" (fig. 89; Rabreau 2000, p. 79). The ensemble, a great architectural novelty, was much admired by contemporaries and was drawn (Gallet 1980, figs. 121–23) and described: "This house represents the Temple of Terpsichore, goddess of the dance, and is a small masterpiece. . . . [Lecomte] has also executed, in the cul-de-four behind the columns, an exquisite relief twenty-two *pieds* long [715 cm (281½ in.)] by four *pieds* high [130 cm (51⅞ in.)], circular in form, in



Fig. 89
View of the Hôtel of Mlle Guimard, engraving. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France



Fig. 90
After Lecomte, *The Triumph of Terpsichore*, 1847, engraving. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

which this skillful artist has represented the triumph of Terpsichore. The nymph is on a chariot, drawn by cupids; bacchantes precede the procession; the Graces, inseparable from the Dance, accompanied by Music, follow the chariot. Two fauns playing cymbals indicate by their movements the Dance of character [representation of a specific character]" (Thiéry 1784, p. 239). The design of this relief was chosen, "perhaps by Ledoux himself" (Gallet 1980, p. 86), for the second volume of his book *L'architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des mœurs et de la législation* and was engraved for the edition of 1847 (fig. 90).

Félix Lecomte exhibited a "sketch" of his *Triumph of Terpsichore* in the Salon of 1771 (no. 271), which is probably to be identified with the fragmentary terracotta in the Villa Éphrussi: "[Terpsichore] plucks the harp seated in a chariot drawn by cupids, with garlands of flowers; dancing bacchantes precede the procession; the Graces and Music, inseparable from the Dance, walk behind her; two satyrs indicate by their actions the *Danse de caractère*." The relief is mentioned in the *livret* as "executed at the house of Mademoiselle Guimard." The commentator of the *Mémoires secrets* was full of praise: "One dwells with infinite pleasure . . . on every part of the action, where unity and variety reign in plenty. The bacchantes form a marvelous contrast with the Graces, and the satyrs set off the cupids. The goddess stands out in the midst of this festival and dominates it as befits the principal subject. One can only applaud the artist's taste" (quoted by Fort 1999, p. 95). Diderot's assessment was less obliging. He criticized the position of the muse plucking a harp: the appropriate pose of Terpsichore was not to be seated but to stand, ready for the dance. He was more caustic about the sculptor's "errors" of composition: "It is impossible that the last of the three Graces, seen from the back, could lay her left hand on the right shoulder of the Grace in front of her. So long as one can do better, this is a gratuitous distortion of nature. Almost the same defect is to be found in the intertwined arms of two of the bacchantes who precede the procession [this part is missing from the present terracotta]. . . . I note again that the second of the three Graces, who faces us, cannot in walking have her thigh and leg turned in as if pigeon-toed. . . . It follows therefore that for this Grace to have any grace in walking, her knee, part of her thigh, and her leg should be in the round; otherwise the figure is twisted and looks wrong" (Diderot, *Salon de 1771*; Diderot 1995, p. 240). Diderot points up one of the inherent difficulties of low relief: when forms that suggest movement are created on a flat surface, they tend to become detached from the background and demand treatment in the round. A low-relief composition must avoid clumsy foreshortenings and overuse of distinct planes. Lecomte adopted a limited number of levels, with some figures incised on the otherwise blank background, to give a graphic lightness and to emphasize the relief's

linear quality, without depth. To achieve the dynamic rhythm of a musical procession, he sometimes deformed figures as they broke away from the background to turn in space. This infelicity, conspicuous in the terracotta seen by visitors to the Salon and of course also in the engravings, must have gone unnoticed in the definitive relief which was installed in the hôtel high up in the niche.

Lecomte's refined linear style, influenced by drawing (which he practiced), is at its best in relief. Notable here are the elongated figures, with regular features and straight noses; the sharp definition of the garments' folds, deeply and meticulously cut; and the gradual recession of the planes throughout the composition. These qualities are found again in the much-admired contemporary series *The Seven Sacraments* (Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts; see Paris 1984–85, nos. 134, 135, ill.).

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JEAN-GUILLAUME MOITTE

Paris, 1746–Paris, 1810

The Festival of Pales

Terracotta, 23.3 × 117.3 × 3.2 cm (9¼ × 46⅞ × 1¼ in.); with frame: 40.6 × 135.9 × 11.4 cm (16 × 53½ × 4½ in.)
Philadelphia Museum of Art (29.117.1)

PROVENANCE

Charles Albert de Burlet, Berlin, 1929; acquired with the contribution of Orville H. Bullitt, 1929

EXHIBITIONS

Paris, Salon of 1783, no. 274: "Festival of Cybele: Sketch of a relief in terracotta"; Lille, Salon de l'Académie des Arts, 1785, no. 109 ("Sketch of a frieze in relief, representing a Festival of the goddess Cybele")

REFERENCES

Thirion 1883, p. 77; Kimball 1929, pp. 21–23, ill.; Isabelle Du Pasquier in Paris 1983, p. 170; Gramaccini 1993, vol. 1, pp. 26, 258, vol. 2, p. 41, no. 82, fig. 103; Scherf 1994, pp. 23–24, fig. 10

New York only

On his accession to the Académie Royale on March 29, 1783, Jean-Guillaume Moitte gained the title of *sculpteur du roi* (sculptor to the king), allowing him to exhibit at the Salon beginning on August 25 of that year. He showed a sample of his skills: a historical figure in plaster (*Orestes*, lost); several drawings (among them a *Bacchic Festival* in red chalk); the marble bust of Mme Rousseau, wife of the architect of the Hôtel de Salm; and the present terracotta sketch of a Festival of Cybele. The last is



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connected with Moitte's report on his work at the Hôtel de Salm: "A relief in terracotta representing the festival of Pales, which has served as the model for the execution of the one in plaster that has been placed beneath the vestibule" (ANZ¹¹ 1277, item 10). The report was accepted by the architect, Pierre Rousseau, on March 1, 1784.

The sovereign prince Frédéric de Salm-Kyrbourg had his Paris hôtel built on land acquired in 1782. Entrusted to Rousseau, its construction began late that year, slowed down in 1784 because of financial difficulties, resumed in 1786, and was finally completed in 1788. The architect, a brother-in-law since 1782 of the sculptor Philippe-Laurent Roland, to whom he assigned two reliefs, had known Moitte in Rome and gave him a good deal of work for the hôtel. In particular Moitte created the models for six statues of Olympian gods and goddesses intended for the decoration of the dome on the Seine side of the building (three terracotta sketches are owned by the Musée de la Légion d'Honneur). His principal work, however, was the large relief of the Festival of Pales, for which he created the model; this was molded in plaster on a colossal scale by D'Hollande (ANZ¹¹ 1277,

item 5) and subsequently placed below the peristyle, at the end of the Cour d'Honneur, where it survives to this day. Monumental sculpture is very much in evidence in this residence, the two reliefs by Roland on the rue de Lille "accompanying the central triumphal arch of the hôtel and setting up that central axial vision that characterizes Rousseau's work" (Pons 1993, p. 387), although Moitte's relief in its final form is partly masked by the colonnade. The subject developed by the artist is taken from antiquity and echoes the "sacrificial march, in the style of the ancients" (to quote the report) realized by Roland on the rue de Lille side: the annual festival of Parilia, during which Romulus was said to have founded Rome, was celebrated on April 21 in honor of Pales, the goddess of sheepfolds and pastures. The theme was treated by Suvée in a tapestry cartoon for the Gobelins factory, exhibited at the same Salon of 1783. In both works the animals are sacrificed in a festive atmosphere evoking Virgil's lines in book 1 of the *Georgics*.

If the subjects developed by Moitte and Roland are in some ways comparable (one of the latter's reliefs shows the sacrifice of a bull), their styles are very different. Roland wanted to re-create the antique: his figures, in clear relief, stand out against a blank background, and perspectival effects and differences of scale are avoided (fig. 91). It was this aspect that the critic of the *Mémoires secrets* admired in "part of a relief . . . representing a Sacrifice of the Ancients," which Roland exhibited at the Salon of 1783: "It reveals a perfect knowledge of antiquity and a thorough study of the sound principles of its art" (Fort 1999, p. 277). Moitte, by contrast, is more interested in pictorial effects. He multiplies figures and details, risking an overelaboration of the composition. The cleansing of the lamb in the left foreground is performed in front of the musicians, who are lightly incised in the background and are invisible in the final composition. By the same token, the frieze of infants, which decorates the base of the statue of Pales, is wonderfully graceful in the terracotta but can hardly be made out in the plaster when seen from the ground. The spectacle of the bull led by its horns toward the place of sacrifice is confused by the indistinct action of the man bending over a sheep. Finally, the ring of dancers at the



Fig. 91
Roland, *The Sacrifice of the Bull*, 1783, stone. Paris, Hôtel de Salm, Musée de la Légion d'Honneur



Fig. 92
Moitte, *The Combat of Ajax and Ulysses*, 1785, terracotta. Private collection

GILLES-LAMBERT GODECHARLE

Brussels, 1750–Brussels, 1835

*Time Presiding over the Succession
of the Hours*Terracotta, 31.5 × 12.4 × 6.5 cm (12 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 4 $\frac{8}{16}$ × 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)Inscribed: in left corner: *Godecharle à f. 1783*

Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts (1395)

PROVENANCE

Acquired in Brussels from the artist's son, Napoléon Godecharle, 1858

REFERENCES

Devigne 1923, p. 64, no. 346; Devigne 1928, pp. 44–45, 105; Van Ypersele de Strihou 1991, pp. 92–93, ill.; Van Lennep 1992, p. 215, ill.

Paris only

This relief is a sketch for the pediment of the country seat of the governors of the Low Countries, called Schoonenberg (Mount Beautiful), now the royal château of Laeken (Van Ypersele de Strihou 1991, p. 85, fig. 88). The château, situated in the countryside near Brussels, was built for the archduchess of Austria Maria Christina (daughter of Empress Maria Theresa) and her husband, Albert Casimir, duke of Saxe-Teschen (son of Augustus III, king of Poland), who were governors-general of the Austrian Low Countries from 1781 (the date of the death of the duke Charles-Alexandre de Lorraine, Maria Christina's uncle) to 1792. The couple were high-flying art lovers (the duke's drawings collection formed the original holdings of the Albertina in Vienna). Schoonenberg, designed by the French architect Charles De Wailly, was inaugurated in July 1785, its cornerstone having been laid on December 14, 1781. A 1782 drawing by De Wailly of the avenue-side elevation shows a dome at the center, rising behind a colonnaded portico surmounted by a historiated pediment with a clock in the middle (Van Ypersele de Strihou 1991, p. 37, fig. 26). An earlier design by De Wailly for this main entrance showed a pediment decorated only with the proprietors' arms (Van Ypersele de Strihou 1991, fig. 43), a traditional solution (see Blondel 1737–38, vol. 1, p. 135). The façade is a distant echo of the Roman Pantheon and the Villa Rotonda in Vicenza, two buildings that had interested the duke during his tour of Italy (Van Ypersele de Strihou 1991, pp. 14, 16).

Gilles-Lambert Godecharle was chosen for the château's sculptural decoration because of the successful works he had realized since his return to Brussels in 1780, in particular the pediment of the Palais du Conseil in Brabant (now the Palais de la Nation; two terracotta models representing an allegory of Justice, dated 1781, are in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels; see Van

right forms a ravishing motif on its own but accords ill with the whole. Moitte's composition develops subtleties in the details, but these can only be appreciated in the close examination of the terracotta sketch, available to the patron and visitors to the Salon. The critics nonetheless praised his "imagination" (*Le véridique au Sallon*; McWilliam, Schuster, and Wrigley 1991, p. 82, no. 373), his "very lively touch" (*L'impartialité au Sallon*; McWilliam, Schuster, and Wrigley 1991, p. 80, no. 353), and his "facility" (*Affiches, annonces et avis divers*; McWilliam, Schuster, and Wrigley 1991, p. 79, no. 347).

These qualities are again found in the terracotta relief *The Combat of Ajax and Ulysses* (fig. 92), exhibited by Moitte in 1785 at the next Salon and showing, according to the *Mémoires secrets*, "that he will be capable of large compositions" (Fort 1999, p. 315). The two works are alike in their accumulation of narrative details and in the way in which the sculptor models his principal figures in strong relief so that they stand out in the foreground, while incising the silhouettes of the crowd on the background. Old versions of both reliefs, probably in stucco, with similar dimensions but of unknown provenance, are in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels (*Festival*, no. 9826, 25 × 131 cm [9 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 51 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.]; *Combat*, no. 9825, 30 × 122 cm [11 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 48 in.]). They may constitute a pair (the *Combat* has a group of people on the left, absent from the terracotta, which extends the subject and makes the fight between the two heroes the composition's center), but the sculptor's intentions cannot be known. Later copies of the *Festival of Pales* in plaster sometimes bear the inscription "Clodion" (for example, the copy in the Musée de la Légion d'Honneur, although that inscription has been covered by a recent restoration). A great draftsman, Moitte shows a frieze composition, with small groupings of figures, analogous to the reliefs, in his drawing *The Marriage of Flora and Zephyr* (1779; Musée du Louvre; Gramaccini 1993, vol. 2, fig. 106).

The present relief is characterized by a great skill in modeling allied with a graphic sensibility, an amalgam that in no way deterred amateurs of terracotta. But its lack of clarity contradicts its function as a preparatory model for an architectural element. Perhaps aware that the monumental enlargement would not be clearly visible behind the colonnade, Moitte decided to create a work for the connoisseur—and exhibited it as such at the Salon—rather than an actual project for an architectural decor.

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Lenep 1992, pp. 207, 212, ill.). At Schoonenberg he was responsible above all for the reliefs of the signs of the zodiac in the main reception room and the pediment of the entrance façade. The latter was described by the *Journal littéraire et politique des Pays-Bas autrichiens* as “Time abides and the Hours engage in the tasks and amusements of the countryside” (January 14, 1786, p. 14; quoted by Van Ypersele de Strihou 1991, p. 85).

The sculptor prepared his composition in two terracottas, both dated 1783 and now in the *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts*, Brussels. The first is the present sketch. The second and larger of the two (67 × 243 cm [26¾ × 95½ in.]) is the model of the definitive work (fig. 93; Van Lenep 1992, p. 208, ill.). The theme is fundamentally the same in both, but there are significant modifications of detail. The principal subject is as follows: in the middle of the composition is a circular clock face, surmounted by a large drapery held by children; to the left of the clock face is Time in the person of the elderly winged Chronos leaning on his scythe; beside him to the left is Diana seated with her crescent moon and Venus standing, accompanied by the small figure of Cupid; to the right of the clock are the four Hours occupied with rustic activities, holding variously a thyrsus, a sickle, and a bundle of hay; beyond are their sisters, the Fates (two of the three are shown here): Clotho, the past, who spins time, and Lachesis, the present, who measures it out, are accompanied by Hypnos and Thanatos, sleep and death. In the sketch Diana is accompanied by two nymphs

bathing and Venus by a woman with a rake over one shoulder; these three figures disappear in the model, where they are replaced on the left by Diana, flanked by a putto seizing her quiver next to a dog, and by two small plowmen at work, while Apollo’s chariot, preceded by Aurora, passes in the background (the latter scene realized in very fine relief). In the sketch, to the right of the Hours, Godecharle places a fifth female figure, carrying a basket, who is not present in the model. There he also alters the grouping of the Fates: two additional putti offer roses to Clotho, who breaks off her task, thanking her for the work done; “the future, symbolized by Atropos [the third Fate], she whom no one escapes, is evoked by the scissors” (Van Ypersele de Strihou 1991, p. 91) placed at the extreme right, clearly visible on the basket and replacing the garden tools in the sketch. These changes clarified the composition, which became more comprehensible when realized on a monumental scale.

Anne and Paul Van Ypersele de Strihou convincingly propose a Masonic reading of this pediment (Albert Casimir of Saxe-Teschen, like Charles De Wailly and the elite of the aristocracy and the intelligentsia at the time, was a Freemason). The choice of an allegory of Time—which already decorated the pediment of the château of Saint-Cloud, mentioned by Blondel—allows for the presence of “a clock which, at the center of the triangle, shows itself like the pupil of a divine eye” (Van Ypersele de Strihou 1991, p. 86). “The allegory of Saturn considered as Time can be nothing but an imitation and an extension of the allegory of Saturn considered as the inventor of Agriculture, these two allegories being inseparable, since time or the years and the harvests tread with an equal pace and devour every being” (Antoine Court de Gébelin, *Allégories orientales* [Paris, 1773], p. 20; quoted by Van Ypersele de Strihou 1991, p. 87).

In Godecharle’s sketch the clock hands are shaped like a serpent (a snake biting its tail is an ancient symbol of Time); this detail, invisible at a distance, was suppressed in the model. Time, whose never-ending course governs the world’s progress, is accompanied by the Hours,



Fig. 93
Godecharle, *Time Presiding over the Succession of the Hours*, 1783, terracotta.
Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts*

representing the annual cycle of the seasons, and the Fates, divinities of destiny. Venus's gesture drawing Diana's attention toward the top of the clock face—the numeral XII—is reinforced in the sketch by an analogous gesture by the Hour holding a thyrsus: "the Masonic allusion is plain: the lodge ceremonies are opened solemnly at midday, when the sun is at its height, and close at midnight, when it is at its lowest; at that moment the moon is supposed to shine with all its brilliance . . . the allegory of time represented at Schoonenberg refers at once to cosmic Time and the Time of the human life" (Van Ypersele de Strihou 1991, pp. 90, 91).

Godecharle executed the complex program of the Laeken pediment with the smooth style that he had developed during his years of successful activity before the troubles of the revolutionary wars. The sketch in particular is very appealing, with its figures (especially Diana's companions) inspired by the art of Clodion, an artist who had a determining influence on Godecharle. According to Marguerite Devigne (1928, p. 45), this is "the first time that the strong French imprint that he always retained is so clearly marked." All the young

women are in a voluptuous state of undress or barely covered with draperies in the antique manner, giving the entire scene a pleasing sense of lightness. The composition is admirably adapted to the triangular format of the pediment, and the protagonists are felicitously grouped on either side of the clock face. In the sketch the individuals stand out in high relief on a generally blank ground; in the model (and in the definitive version), however, the ground is incised with figures—useful for expanding the allegory but confusing when the work is viewed as a whole (especially from ground level). The two Hours in the sketch have been damaged: the Hour on her knees, who was perhaps playing cymbals, is now headless; the one in the background, pointing with her right hand to the XII of the clock face, has lost the entire upper part of her body. The latter loss indicates that Godecharle, using a traditional technique, applied delicately modeled additions to his ground that subsequently weakened in the process of drying and firing. These losses, however, do not affect the work's legibility; instead, they draw attention to the excellent state of preservation of the other figures in the composition.

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JOHANN VALENTIN SONNENSCHNEIN

Stuttgart, 1749–Bern, 1828

Cephalus and Procris

Terracotta, with a brown coating, 51.5 × 70 cm (20¼ × 27½ in.), with gilt-wood frame, 59.3 × 76.5 cm (23¾ × 30½ in.)
 Inscribed, at bottom center of rock: V. SONNENSCHNEIN. 1780
 Zurich, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum (Musée National Suisse, LM 13527)

PROVENANCE

Private collection, Junkerngasse, Bern; Bern art market;
 P. Migliorati; acquired by the Musée National Suisse, Zurich, 1915

EXHIBITIONS

Zurich 1992–93, no. 22, ill.; Stuttgart 1993, no. 18, ill.

REFERENCES

Bucher 1986, p. 38, fig. 20; Bucher 1989, vol. 1, p. 194, vol. 2, p. 114, w25

This work from 1780 is part of a series including two other mythological scenes in the same format: the Sacrifice of Iphigenia and the story of Jupiter and Io (Bern, Kunstmuseum; Stuttgart 1993, nos. 16, 17, ill.). That same year Johann Valentin Sonnenschein also made a terracotta in the round of Cephalus and Procris (Zurich, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum; Stuttgart 1993, no. 19, ill.).

Inspired by the account given by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses* (7.838–42), the present relief shows the tragic moment of Procris's death. Possessed by jealousy, she followed her husband Cephalus as he hunted in order to spy on him. She was mortally wounded by an arrow fired by Cephalus in the belief that he was aiming at a wild beast. The young woman rushed to Cephalus, lamenting her misfortune with her dying breath. At the hunter's side is his dog Laelaps, an animal so fast that no beast could outrun him, and under a nearby tree a young nude boy spreads a net.

In his handling of space in this composition Sonnenschein demonstrates the skill he had acquired as a sculptor of plasterwork; notable are the delicately sketched landscape reliefs at the rear and the foreground elements that are modeled almost in the round—the dog, for example. This virtuosity is also evident in the simplified treatment of the bark and the leaves, a technique he developed to deal with the short drying time of works in stucco. Sonnenschein's most celebrated stucco demonstration was his Neoclassical music room in the Zurich house "Zum Kiel" whose appealing three-dimensionality is also evident in the present relief (see esp. Lutz in Zurich 1992–93, figs. 6, 12).

This relief has its original mount: a wood oval frame, with a paneled reverse, to which it is attached by three wood pegs.

BVR

LUC FRANÇOIS BRETON

Besançon, 1731–Besançon, 1800

The Testament of Eudamidas

Terracotta, 51 × 67 × 17 cm (20¼ × 26¾ × 6¾ in.)
 Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie (849.35.9)

PROVENANCE

The artist's studio; mentioned in the inventories of the models of drawing and sculpture for the use of the pupils of the École Gratuite de Peinture et Sculpture de Besançon (Besançon, Archives Municipales, 1R19, with letter of September 19, 1815, covering the consignment; another inventory dated April 1820, 1 D10); entered the museum with the contents of the artist's studio in 1849

REFERENCES

Lancrenon 1850, p. 85, no. 397; Castan 1891, p. 228; Gauthier 1899, p. 661, no. 7, ill. p. 662, pl. xxx; Lami 1910–11, vol. 1, p. 131; Cornillot 1940, pp. 78, 117, 133, 135, ill. p. 77, pl. 1; Rocher-Jauneau 1955, pp. 59–60, fig. 4; Chastel 1960, vol. 1, p. 302 and fig. 258; Seznec 1965, pp. 154–56, fig. 2; Dowley 1968, p. 198, fig. 5; Verdi 1971, pp. 521–22, fig. 32; Chastel 1978, p. 214, fig. 329; West 1998, pp. 32–33, fig. 33

This relief is a copy after the painting by Poussin, *The Testament of Eudamidas*, based on a story told by Lucian in one of his *Dialogues* (fig. 94), although it "could have been brought to Poussin's attention through reading Montaigne" (Thuillier 1974, no. 187). Painted for the Maître des Comptes Michel Passart, probably about 1643–44 (Paris and London 1994–95, p. 346), the canvas passed through a number of hands before being bought in Paris by the Danish diplomat Count Moltke and sent to Denmark in about 1759. Not seen in France during the second half of the eighteenth century, the picture was known from two engravings, one by Jean Pesne (done shortly before 1693), the other by Marcenay de Ghuy (announced in the *Mercure de France* of November 1757), who made a copy in gouache of the picture itself. The *Testament* is the culmination of the death-bed motif, a theme brilliantly treated by the artist in the *Death of Germanicus* and the two *Extreme Unctions*. The painting, almost completely unknown until then, was rediscovered toward the end of the 1750s and became Poussin's most discussed work. Diderot discovered it in the 1760s and considered its rigorous composition an archetype of excellence in history painting: "The *Testament of Eudamidas* will remain a thing sublime. What does one see in this picture of Eudamidas? The dying man on the bed; beside him the doctor who takes his pulse; the lawyer who receives his last wishes; at the foot of the bed the wife of Eudamidas seated, her back turned to her husband; his daughter lying on the floor between her mother's knees, with her head on her mother's lap. There is no trace of confusion



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here. Multiplicity or a crowd is very near disorder. And what are the accessories? Nothing but Eudamidas's sword and shield hung on the rear wall. A large number of accessories is very near impoverishment" (Diderot, *Pensées détachées sur la peinture* [1776]; Diderot 1995, p. 414). Falconet went further: "What tender, precious, and sublime ideas are not imprinted deep in the soul of an honorable and sensitive man by this heroism of trust, of holy and sacred friendship! Yet it is only a small picture, there is no change of scene, it is unique. I would have sacrificed to it as if to the Unknown God" (Falconet, *Notes sur le Livre xxxiv de Plin*, in Falconet 1808, vol. 1, p. 121).

The text of the *Mercure de France* of November 1757, no doubt written by Marcenay de Ghuy himself, notes the four elements of artistic critical comment: subject, composition, expression, appropriateness. The subject—the dying Eudamidas entrusting in his will his wife and daughter to two friends—exalts moral virtue (true friendship) and emotional values (the afflicting sight of the death of the honest citizen in the presence of his nearest and dearest), which caused Diderot to exclaim that the work would remain "a thing sublime." The painting's composition follows a "rational simplicity in its organization." The expression is the precise revelation of the thoughts of each protagonist, and Diderot cites it as an example in his *Salon de 1767* in commenting on the *Death of the Dauphin* by Lagrenée. Finally, appropriateness is perfectly followed by Poussin, who uses to good effect chiaroscuro and the antique. The latter being particularly favored among sculptors—"It seems, my friend, that sculptors rely more on the antique than painters" (Diderot, *Salon de 1765*; Diderot 1984a, p. 279)—the transposition of the picture into a relief, the medium par excellence of classical antiquity, was appropriate (Verdi 1971, p. 517). Poussin's masterpiece gave rise to numerous painted and drawn copies (for the most part free variations inspired by the engravings), which captured the



Fig. 94
After Nicolas Poussin, *The Testament of Eudamidas*, engraving by Marcenay de Ghuy, 1757. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

attention of sculptors in a remarkable way. There is, for example, a plaster by Rysbrack, made shortly after 1730 from a copy of Poussin's picture then in England (Stourhead; Verdi 1971, p. 522, fig. 35), and an anonymous terracotta in the Musée Historique, Lyon (42 × 55 cm [16½ × 21½ in.]; Rocher-Jauneau 1955, fig. 2). Finally, Pierre Julien chose this composition for the work that Poussin is sketching in the seated representation in marble (1804; Paris, Musée du Louvre; Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 2, p. 448, ill.; see also cat. no. 111).

While Breton's terracotta has a rich historiographic context, nothing is known about the circumstances of its creation. Its date of execution, in particular, is uncertain and has been variously given as close to 1800 (Chastel 1960, vol. 1, fig. 258; Chastel 1978, vol. 2, p. 215, fig. 329, alone in the literature to publish the relief as anonymous) and about 1760 (Seznec 1965, p. 155). On the one hand the work is perceived as having been realized by a contemporary of David, within the strict confines of Neoclassicism; on the other it is analyzed as an image typical of the sensibility of Greuze: the relief of Breton "blunts at once the purity of the outline and the austerity of the feeling. His copy is, if one may say so, a Poussin crumpled, although the creased draperies are due perhaps to the medium he employs. This is a diminished Poussin: the heads, enlarged, have taken on a banal expression of grief. In short, the heroic spirit of the scene is altered: it is transformed, in spite of the costume, into a bourgeois tragedy. It is the *Death of the Father of the Family* . . . an interpretation that tends to reduce a subject from antiquity to the proportions of a genre scene" (Seznec 1965, pp. 155–56). Seznec suggests that Breton executed the sculpture in Rome (between 1754 and 1771 therefore) after the engraving by Pesne. Verdi (1971, p. 521) and West (1998, p. 33, fig. 33) repeat without comment the date of about 1760, following the opinion of Cornillot (1940, p. 117), who writes without explanation that the relief was done in Rome.

Another dating is also possible. In fact, the relief after Poussin does not slot easily into Breton's Roman output: his terracottas after the masters of the Baroque that are preserved in the Musée de Besançon are sketchier, more lightly modeled. *The Testament of Eudamidas* is a work of larger dimensions, very controlled in its conception and details; it is not a travel souvenir or a studio exercise. It fits well into Poussinism, which was widely cultivated during the second half of the eighteenth century (Rosenblum 1967, p. 30). Richard Verdi (1971, p. 523 n. 77) rightly points out that three famous compositions by Poussin were chosen as subjects by the Académie Royale for sculpture competitions: in 1761 (*The Death of Germanicus*), 1780 (*The Deluge*), and 1790 (*The Judgment of Solomon*). We are given a lead by the date of an *Éloge de*

Nicolas Poussin, written by Nicolas Guibal in 1783, the frontispiece of which shows the *Testament of Eudamidas*. This text won the competition prize awarded by the Rouen academy, and Guibal read it at the Académie Royale in Paris on October 4, 1783 (see the *Mercure de France*, March 1784, pp. 45ff.). In it he declares (p. 41) that the *Eudamidas* is "done with an art so marvelous that Art itself causes Art to disappear in it." Perhaps Breton conceived his copy after Poussin's picture when discussions of it were current in academic circles and when he was preoccupied with pedagogy. Besançon's École Gratuite de Peinture et de Sculpture (Free School of Painting and Sculpture), which he had founded with the painter Wyrsh, had opened in 1774 and had prospered even after Wyrsh's departure in 1784. It would not be surprising for Breton to have executed during this period a work that conformed with the Académie's aesthetic ideas. Another determining factor may have been the republication of Falconet's *Réflexions sur la sculpture* in the edition of his *Oeuvres* (Falconet 1781, pp. 1–54). This edition included the entire text (without the cuts made by Jaucourt in the first version published in 1765 in the *Encyclopédie* 1751–80, vol. 14) of the entry on sculpture in which the author dwelt admiringly on the picturesque and illusionistic reliefs of Roman Baroque sculptors. To champion the classicism of Poussin in sculpture was even more topical.

In his sculpted version of Poussin's painting, Breton expanded somewhat the latter's pared-down vocabulary. He embellished the draperies and softened the character of the expressions. As a result there is a loss of dramatic tension in the relief, even if on the whole it is faithful to the painter's composition. Yet Breton's broad, incisive style achieves a heroic character very much in the spirit of Poussin. The analysis of the faces, with their carefully differentiated expressions, is sensitive. The secondary elements (including the still life on the table in the right background) are soberly depicted. The regular falls of fabric, with long, deeply grooved folds, add to the cool dignity of the whole.

The condition of the work, photographed for the article by Gauthier in 1899, was cause for concern: the left part of the relief in particular was marred by a large split. The sculpture was restored in 1953: the old break, corresponding to a serious crack in the firing, was crudely mended with a thick seal; some losses were made good; and the work was washed in water, which penetrated the terracotta and gave it a grayish surface. It was then covered in part by a pinkish layer (a clay solution) to unify its appearance. These unfortunate changes were corrected during a new intervention occasioned by the present exhibition.

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ANTONIO TRENTANOVE

Rimini, about 1745–Carrara, 1812

AFTER FELICE GIANI

(1758–1823)

Venus and Adonis

Terracotta, traces of pale green pigment, 17.1 × 48.3 cm
(6¾ × 19 in.)

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (1977.819)

PROVENANCE

Gift of Randolph J. Fuller to the museum, 1977

EXHIBITION

London 1967, no. 105, ill.

REFERENCES

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 1978, p. 28, ill.; Ottani Cavina 1999, vol. 1, p. 387

Here the recumbent goddess Venus implores Adonis, her young lover, not to hunt the wild boar, for fear of his being killed (Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, 10.541ff.). The curtain, gathered at left around the shoulders of a leering priapic herm, creates a shallow space for the scene, formulated from a range of sources. Venus's extraordinary elongation and her low, generally Greco-Roman couch and footstool bring to mind Renaissance glimpses of intimacy such as Giulio Romano's *Two Lovers* (formerly *Alexander and Roxane*) in the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg. But the designer clearly had a broad pictorial experience, and one might even sense inflec-

tions from the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, as that tradition also emphasized a woman's effort to beguile and restrain a comely youth.

The relief is one of four—all superb, although this is perhaps the most arresting—that were said in the Heim catalogue (London 1967) to be by Camillo Pacetti and in the publication of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts to be possibly by Antonio Canova. The other three represent Apollo and Daphne, Diana and Endymion, and Echo and Narcissus (the last also contains a dog, this time slurping at the spring's edge [fig. 95]). Ottani Cavina (1999, vol. 1, p. 387, relying on Stefano Tumidei's 1988–89 University of Bologna thesis on Trentanove) states that these are models for four of eleven stucco reliefs representing the Loves of the Gods, which are above the doors and windows and below the Story of Psyche, a series of frescoes by Felice Giani in the Sala di Psiche in Palazzo Laderchi, Faenza (Ottani Cavina 1999, vol. 1, p. 392, figs. 564–67, illustrates four of the stucco reliefs but not *Venus and Adonis*).

The Laderchi brothers, leading liberals whose power increased under Napoleonic rule, had erected their palace in neo-Palladian style beginning in the 1780s; the



Fig. 95
Trentanove, *Echo and Narcissus*, 1794, terracotta.
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts



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Sala di Psiche's decoration dates to 1794. The *stuccatore* in the Laderchi project was Antonio Trentanove, and this was the first of his many collaborations with Giani and his bustling workshop. It is more than likely that in this instance, as in others, Giani, a prolific inventor, supplied the drawings to Trentanove, who then worked up the designs and enlarged them in stucco. The *stucchi* are proportionally wider than the models, giving them greater atmospheric amplitude within the overall design, which, typically for Giani, commingles Raphaelesque and Pompeian elements in a light and gracious but noble manner.

Giani's drawings for Palazzo Laderchi's *stucchi* do not survive, but his wit and verve inform the reliefs through-

out. Trentanove was an invaluable translator of the painter's style into sculpture, whether delivering the sense of Giani's most effervescent draftsmanship, as in the Boston models, or his increasingly ambitious monumentality seen in subsequent collaborations such as the *stucchi* in Palazzo Milzetti, Faenza (for which Giani's drawings do survive: Ottani Cavino 1999, vol. 1, p. 182, figs. 267–69).

The buff terracotta, quite thin in depth and bowed concavely because of warp in the kiln, is backed with plaster. Vertical notches along the edges of the relief allowed a frame to slide along the sides. The remains of pale green pigment indicate a subsequent decorative use.

JDD

AFTER BERTEL THORVALDSEN

Copenhagen, 1770–Copenhagen, 1844

Christian Charity

Terracotta, 66 × 59 cm (26 × 23¼ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1973.81)

PROVENANCE

Timothy Clifford, London; purchased by the Museum with funds from the Untermyer Gift and Rogers Fund, 1973

EXHIBITIONS

London 1972b, no. 41; Cologne 1977, no. 71

REFERENCES

Metropolitan Museum 1975, p. 245; Leroy-Jay Lemaistre in *Musée du Louvre* 1988, p. 110 and p. 112, fig. 31a

Bertel Thorvaldsen is chief among those Neoclassical sculptors who seldom saved clay models. The Thorvaldsens Museum in Copenhagen, recipient of almost all of his models, owns plasters rather than terracottas. Only a handful of lesser clay sketches are in other Danish museums. It is likely that his clay sketches were low-fired if fired at all and that these were too damaged to keep after molds were taken for the plasters. Yet the master, whose influence was so great, must have a place in this publication. We therefore offer for consideration the present work, a terracotta cast, which is not autograph, after one of his models at some remove from the invention.

An oft-quoted contemporary, Karl Grass, writing in the *Morgenblatt* in 1812, called Thorvaldsen, aptly, the “patriarch of bas-relief.” Even in this copy of the composition, grave cadences are established with confidence and erudition. Isabelle Leroy-Jay Lemaistre (in *Musée du Louvre* 1988, pp. 110–13, no. 31) has investigated its sources exhaustively. They range from Raphael to John Flaxman’s engravings to Antonio Canova’s relief of 1795 *Giving to the Hungry* (*Musée des Beaux-Arts*, Dijon). Thorvaldsen virtually repeated Canova’s motherly bread-giver, with her himation terminating in a tassel (Leroy-Jay Lemaistre in *Musée du Louvre* 1988, p. 112, fig. 31d). Yet Thorvaldsen has imbibed his Raphael and his Flaxman so deeply that these influences must be inferred, much like those of Attic reliefs and paintings on Greek vases (which he collected), rather than demonstrated. Thorvaldsen’s merit is to have immersed himself so thoroughly in such experiences that he emerged with the authority of a great original. His vision, moreover, was direct, and he used all his wonted purity of line and adjustment of relative compositional weight for the sake of getting across a meaning. In this regard, it is worth quoting his early biographer Just

Mathias Thiele, who grasped perfectly the sculptor’s narrative motivation:

Thorvaldsen has here not only represented motherly love, but at the same time Christian Charity. “And abideth faith, hope, charity, these three, but the greatest of these is charity.” 1 Cor. xiii 13.

The young, handsome mother presses with motherly tenderness her one child to her bosom, while the other child gently takes her to a suffering fellow being. She is represented walking fast, for love is ardently disposed to render speedy assistance. The boy going in advance, in whose visage the intercession of his innocent heart is expressed, pulls his mother’s gown and draws her after him. He stretches out his left arm and points with his fore-finger to the object of their walk. (Thiele 1869, vol. 1, pp. 32–33)

The subject of Charity, of course, has an ancient Christian history. Almsgiving was among the works emphasized by Protestants, such as the Danish Lutherans, but Thorvaldsen invests it with an ecumenical urgency. According to Thiele, he was prompted by the words of the seventeenth-century English divine Edward Stillingfleet: “A man must have great impudence to profess himself a Christian, and yet to think himself not obliged to do acts of charity.”

Thiele states that Thorvaldsen modeled this composition in 1810 and that Lord Shelburne, marquis of Lansdowne, ordered an example in marble. Leroy-Jay Lemaistre believes the marble bought by the Louvre in 1985 is probably the Lansdowne marble and supposes that the present terracotta served as the model for it. Among the various examples of this popular work, the present terracotta is indeed closest in detail to the Paris marble, but as already noted, it is to be considered a copy rather than a preliminary model. There were subsequent changes to the composition. In the plaster in the Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen, for example, the walking child’s tunic is more finicky. That plaster is echoed in further marbles: one appropriately placed above an alms box in the Metropolitan Church of Our Lady, Copenhagen (finished in 1819, installed in 1833); one in the Thorvaldsens Museum (said to have been planned about 1822 to alleviate the woes of a Norwegian debtor who died before the work could be sold); and one carved for the duke of Sutherland, mentioned in 1828 (Bjarne [1977, p. 82, no. 49.2] speculates that it may be the one then in an English private collection).

The back of the terracotta shows the regular concavities to be expected in a cast from a mold (somewhat concealed by plaster fill to support an iron armature for hanging). The matte surface of the front is enlivened by a few areas of carving in the hair. There are abundant remains of buff-colored paint toned more or less to agree with the buff clay.

JDD



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PIERRE-JEAN DAVID D'ANGERS

Angers, 1788–Paris, 1856

The Motherland Calling Her Children to the Defense of Liberty

Terracotta, 30 × 71 cm (11¾ × 28 in.)

Inscribed at the lower left: *p. j. david*; on the flag at the top, right of center: *LES ENFANS / DE LA / PROVENCE* (the children of Provence)
Orléans, Musée des Beaux-Arts (1630)

PROVENANCE

Given by David in 1842 to Charles Lenormant, Paris; presented by him to M. Mantellier, president of the Société Archéologique d'Orléans, who in turn presented it to the Musée de Peinture, subsequently the Musée des Beaux-Arts

EXHIBITION

Paris 1986b, no. 103

REFERENCES

Jouin 1878, vol. 2, p. 481; Jouin 1885, p. 105; Lami 1914–21, vol. 2, p. 87; Leroy-Jay Lemaistre in Musée du Louvre 1984, pp. 82–85; Beauvais 1989, p. 199; Marseille 1989, p. 34, ill.; Moinet and Ballesteros 1996, p. 117

In 1780 the city council of Marseille voted to erect a triumphal arch to honor Louis XVI at the principal gateway, the Porte d'Aix. The project became dormant like most of those conceived late in the ancien régime but was revived in 1823, during the reign of Louis XVIII, amid general enthusiasm for the Spanish exploits of the royal nephew, the duc d'Angoulême (son of the comte

d'Artois, the future Charles X). Michel-Robert Penchaud, the city's architect, took charge and demanded the best workers for the erection of this lofty creation, which would rise some sixty feet. Based on the Arch of Trajan at Benevento and the Arch of Titus in Rome, this monument was contemporaneous with the work being carried out on the Arc de Triomphe at the Étoile in Paris. In 1828, when construction was already under way, the mayor of Marseille went to Paris to sign accords with David d'Angers and Étienne-Jules Ramey for sculptures to embellish the arch. The fall of Charles X in 1830 and the rise of a more liberal régime under Louis-Philippe led to a changed program, which the artists themselves drew up, for a total of twenty-two sculptures to be executed in Saint-Rémy stone. These plans are among the first to revive Revolutionary and Bonapartist military glories. David's share, for which he eventually received 92,000 francs, was all the work on the arch's northern face: four statues of allegorical Military Virtues (lost) that crowned the attic; two spandrels flanking the archway with reliefs representing Fame (see cat. no. 69); and two reliefs, one of the 1794 Battle of Fleurus (won by Maréchal Jean-Baptiste Jourdain) and another of the 1800 Battle of Heliopolis (won by Maréchal Jean-Baptiste Kléber), which rise above two larger reliefs representing Victories with trophies. Within the vault each sculptor was responsible for a broad horizontal relief on one of the two interior walls; these works would face each other, following the practice in the ancient arches mentioned above. David's is *The Motherland Calling Her Children to the Defense of Liberty* (sometimes called *The Departure of the Volunteers*), and Ramey's is *The Return of the Valiant Following Victory and Receiving Recompense from the Motherland*

A pencil sketch of a woman standing and holding a child. The woman is wearing a long, flowing dress and has her arms crossed. The child is wearing a coat and is looking down. The sketch is on a piece of paper with a vertical crease.

Apart from the Orléans reliefs, given by David to Lenormant, the critic Gustave Planche reminded David that he had promised to send him “the sketch in terracotta of your bas-relief from Marseille” (April 5, 1834: Jouin 1893, p. 218, letter LIX). It was obviously not the same as the present work, perhaps reflecting a separate campaign of modeling.

Most of the motifs of the final work are already vividly present in the terracotta. From left to right a Victory inscribes a tablet below the figure of the Motherland, to whom the populace offer themselves, their armaments, and—in the case of a bonneted woman in fashionable 1830s chignon and mutton sleeves—their jewelry. The central veteran, a reenlisting artisan in his smock, is clarified through enlargement in the final design. The mother bidding her husband farewell toward the right now has a more modish bonnet, while the man farther right has removed his hat, again for clarity. All is set

against a background bristling with diagonally raised swords and bayonets in a staccato corduroy-like effect, granular in the model, clearer in the final product.

Frenchmen inured to warfare knew how to interpret the characters' actions and the genre subgroupings as individual acts of patriotism, "down to the little drummer boy of Waterloo [sic]—at the right who has escaped through the window of his family's home to sound the charge at the head of the regiment" (Carle 1835, p. 20). The writer perhaps described from memory—we do not see a window but only a widowed mother from whom the drummer boy is about to part. The same author, writing at the unveiling also spoke of the "immense bas-relief" as an "allegorical pell-mell," which conveys well the extraordinary simultaneity of all the actions. This simultaneity and the abrupt juxtapositions of figures may have come in part from an overlooked ancient source. David owned plaster casts of the spiraling bands of relief on the Column of Trajan, which he studied by candlelight in his youth (Jouin 1878, vol. 1, p. 48). There are no exact quotations, but the column incorporates Victory inscribing a shield and a host of characters, many back-to-back, from warriors who acclaim their emperor to witnesses in the form of mothers and children, who find equivalents in David's no less propagandizing work. Especially the "pell-mell" assault on the eye, generally viewed as an anticlassical usage, even as a rupture with Neoclassical traditions, could well result from his energetic consultation of this peculiar pocket of antiquity.

The functions and groupings of those who rush to defend the nation in Guillaume Guillon-Lethière's canvas *The Nation in Danger* show striking similarities to those in the relief (Salon of 1779 *hors catalogue*; Vizille, Musée de la Révolution Française; Bordes and Chevalier 1996, pp. 90–93, no. 17, ill.).

A minor confusion: both Jouin (1878, vol. 2, p. 481) and the typescript catalogue of the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Orléans state that the *Motherland* is dated 1839. There is no hint of a date on the relief at present, but just below the signature is a blank that might indicate a chip where it once was—although if there is a break, it is not of recent vintage. It is impossible to imagine that the relief, so vigorous and showing so many variants from the final work in the archway, could be a copy of an earlier one. Either there was no date or it was misread but no longer present or the *Inventaire général* compiler was correct in supposing the date of 1839 to be that of the gift to Lenormant.

The terracotta is tannish in color. The relief was rapidly fashioned by flattening circular globs directly onto two adjoining planks, as evinced by the impress of the grain of this wood. The sides are scored vertically in front; no doubt an enframing was always envisioned. There is a tinted plaster replacement at the top left corner.

JDD

PIERRE-JEAN DAVID D'ANGERS

Angers, 1788–Paris, 1856

Two Figures of Fame

Terracotta, 26 × 22.2 and 26.4 × 23.2 cm (10¼ × 8¾ and 10¾ × 9½ in.)

Relief on the left inscribed at the bottom: P [?]. J DAVID
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1992.49.ab)

PROVENANCE

David's gift to the architect Charles-Édouard Gabelle; his family; sale, Paris, Nouveau Drouot, October 15, 1981; purchased by the Museum in London with Friends of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts Gifts, 1992

REFERENCES

Leroy-Jay Lemaistre in Musée du Louvre 1984, p. 83; Draper 1992, p. 145, figs. 23, 24

Like cat. no. 68, these robust, heavily scored models were made for the Porte d'Aix at Marseille. The stone reliefs of Fame occupy the spandrels on the arch's north side (see fig. 100). They are based very loosely on the reliefs in the spandrels of ancient Roman arches (De Maria 1988, pl. 67), although the latter usually have Victories rather than trumpeting Fame figures.

These are the most conventionally Neoclassical elements of David's work for Marseille; it may be imagined that he felt he was certain to face comparison with Ramey's mellifluous manner on the arch's other side. There are echoes of Philippe-Laurent Roland, David's early mentor, in the curvilinear shaping and of the draftsmanship of David's friend J.-A.-D. Ingres, particularly in the full throat and exaggeratedly swayed-back posture of the Fame at the left. The two models actually preceded two preparatory drawings in Angers (figs. 98, 99), which are closer to the spandrels' final conformations (fig. 100). He abandoned some of the drawings' orientalizing touches, especially around the eyes.

The clay, of the same tannish color as cat. no. 68, has sustained damages. The right-hand Fame's trumpet has sheared off, possibly in firing. The repair to a diagonal break across the left Fame has obscured the first letter of the signature.

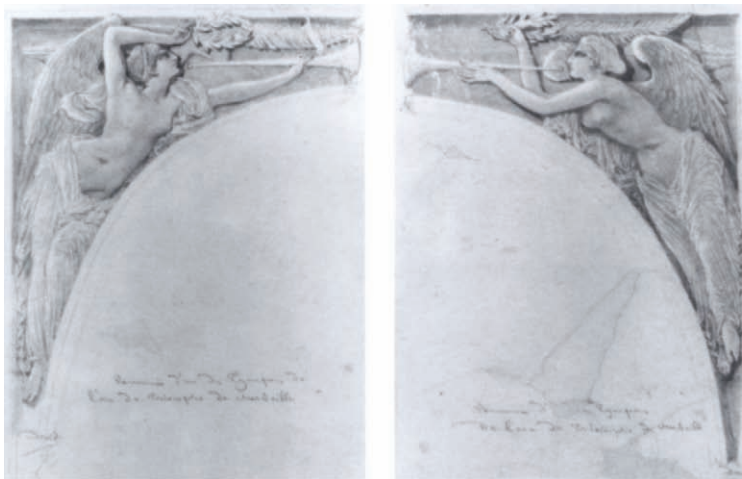
JDD



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Figs. 98, 99
David d'Angers, *Figures of Fame*, about 1830, graphite, each inscribed *Renommé d'un des tympans de l'arc de triomphe de Marseille, David* [Fame for one of the tympanums of the triumphal arch in Marseille, David]. Angers, Musée des Beaux-Arts



Fig. 100
David d'Angers, *Fame*, 1835, Saint-Rémy limestone. Marseille, north spandrel of Porte d'Aix

Group Aesthetics: Men and Centaurs

A sculptural group is “the combination of two or more figures sculpted in the round on the same support (socle, base, pedestal) who participate in the same action or are united by a common situation.”¹ The putting together of closely linked figures has always been a major achievement for a sculptor. The extraordinary fame enjoyed by the great antique figural groups—the *Farnese Bull*, the *Laocoon*, the *Pasquino*, and the *Wrestlers*²—made them a major focus of emulation on the part of sculptors. The researches of Michelangelo and Giambologna into the group of two, then three figures that had to be united into a single action were disseminated in small bronzes by their followers and forcefully repopularized this type of object.³ In the late sixteenth century, Giambologna with his *Rape of the Sabines*,⁴ then with *Hercules Vanquishing a Centaur* (fig. 101), conceived compositions allowing multiple points of view. The impact of these works was enormous, and many reductions in bronze, beautiful and imaginative from every side, were found in the princely courts of Europe in the first half of the eighteenth century: about 1740 the sharp-eyed collector Count Carl Gustav Tessin owned a small bronze after Giambologna,⁵ as did other contemporary devotees, such as Pierre Crozat, the duc de Tallard, and Blondel de Gagny. By mid-century the taste of amateurs had begun to shift, and collectors became increasingly interested in terracottas (and in biscuits).

The 1770s and 1780s saw the development of a type of terracotta sculpture that had the same qualities as the small bronzes so admired earlier: a composition in the round that allowed the eye to roam about the object without settling on a single point of view; refinement in details (attributes, secondary reliefs, highly finished surfaces, and marked textual contrasts); a relatively modest scale allowing the amateur to turn the object easily in front of him as the sculptor had worked on all sides of the piece when it was on his modeling table. An especially popular subject was the struggle (or embrace) between a man (or a woman) and a centaur. It is not surprising that this creature, half man, half horse, reemerged in the Neoclassical era: as important as the satyr in Arcadian mythology, the centaur frequently appeared in antique literature and art.⁶

According to Greek mythology, the centaur⁷ resulted from the coupling of Ixion of Thessaly and Nephele (a cloud nymph whom Ixion believed to be Juno). “Nephele gave birth to the centaurs, who were raised by nymphs on Mount Pelion. From the centaurs and the mares of the region came the hippocentaurs, which are actually the centaurs we see in marbles and bronzes. These centaurs are famous in fable; they were mostly violent in nature; they quarreled easily, and engaged in combat, where they were not always the strongest.”⁸ This wild



Fig. 101
Giambologna, *Hercules Vanquishing a Centaur*,
1595–1600, marble. Florence, Loggia dei Lanzi



Fig. 102
Giandomenico Tiepolo, *Centaur and Bacchante*, ink and
brown wash over chalk. New York, The Metropolitan Museum
of Art, Rogers Fund, 1937 (37.165.58)

race was known for its violence, its luxury, and its taste for wine.⁹ “The centaurs, said to be half men, half horse, symbolize men whom carnal knowledge has made to resemble beasts.”¹⁰ However, standing in contrast to the aggressive, lascivious monsters fought by Theseus and Hercules (cat. nos. 71, 72) is the magnificent figure of Chiron, most famous, wisest of the centaurs. Son of the god Chronus and Philyra, a daughter of Oceanus, he belonged to the same divine generation as Zeus and the Olympians. Chiron, an immortal, and a friend of men, protected Peleus, who entrusted him with the education of his son Achilles (cat. no. 78).

If the centaur motif was widely interpreted in Western art, notably by Giambologna (fig. 101), it also interested the eighteenth century. Giambattista and Giandomenico Tiepolo created unforgettable images of bucolic couples, giving the monster a tender bearing very different from its usual brutish appearance (fig. 102).¹¹ Diderot was fascinated by the theme: “One must be a knowledgeable anatomist, whether to praise or blame the figure of a centaur [and] to know what must have been the sympathetic influence of the human element on the animal part that was joined to it. I know of no more difficult task than to depict the beauty or the ugliness of a beast composed of two animals so disparate as a man and horse. . . . Nothing is more difficult to create than a

figure this monstrous.”¹² With notable results, Sergel, Stouf, and Chinard took up the challenge. GS

1. Baudry 1978, p. 508.
2. Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 165–66, 243–47, 291–96, 337–39, nos. 15, 52, 72, 94, figs. 85, 125, 153–55, 179.
3. Avery 1970, pp. 188–89, 242, 251–53.
4. Original marble in the Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence; many reductions in bronze.
5. A bronze of *Nessus Abducting Deianira* is visible in the portrait of Tessin painted by Aved (Salon of 1740), executed when the count was the Swedish ambassador in Paris (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum); see especially Paris 1994b, no. 253, ill.
6. Statues such as the *Furietti Centaurs* (Rome, Musei Capitolini; Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 178–79, no. 20, figs. 91, 92) and the *Centaur with Cupid* (Paris, Musée du Louvre; Haskell and Penny 1981, p. 179, no. 21, fig. 93), as well as reliefs (sarcophagi), cameos, and intaglios.
7. See Nash 1984.
8. Montfaucon 1722, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 400–401.
9. “The thyrsus [a staff topped with vine leaves and grapes] suited centaurs who frequently participated in the feasts of Bacchus, and who loved wine as much as violence.” *Ibid.*, pp. 401–2, and cat. no. 77 in this publication.
10. Medieval text (Libellus, xxii, “De Hercule”), quoted in Tervarent 1997, p. 87.
11. Cailleux 1974.
12. Diderot, letter to Falconet, Paris, May 2, 1773; Diderot, *Correspondance*, vol. 12 (Paris, 1997), pp. 1158–59.

JEAN-BAPTISTE STOUF

Paris, 1742–Charenton-le-Pont, 1826

Hercules Vanquishing Two Centaurs

Terracotta, on quadrangular wooden base that frames four scenes: *Hercules and the Nemean Lion* (patinated plaster); *Hercules and the Hydra of Lerna* (terracotta); *Hercules and the Cretan Bull* (patinated plaster); *Hercules and the Rape of Deianira* (terracotta); group: 39.2 × 34.3 × 26.5 cm (15³/₈ × 13¹/₂ × 10³/₈ in.); base: 15.4 × 31.4 × 31.4 cm (6 × 12³/₈ × 12³/₈ in.); total: 58.6 × 34.3 × 32 cm (12¹/₈ × 13¹/₂ × 12³/₈ in.)

Detroit Institute of Arts (71.396)

PROVENANCE

Paris, private collection; London, art market; acquired by the museum in 1971, Founders Society Purchase

EXHIBITION

Paris, Salon of 1785, no. 245

REFERENCES

Cummings 1972, pp. 12–13, ill.; Detroit Institute of Arts 1979, no. 94, ill.

Jean-Baptiste Stouf exhibited this work at the Salon of 1785, when it was described in the *livret* under the number 245: “Small group of Hercules fighting the Centaurs. On the base are reliefs representing his Labors.” The sculptor had been admitted as a member of the Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture on May 28, 1785, and a few months later he took part in his first Salon. He showed his reception piece (*The Death of Abel*), two “study heads” (*Belisarius* and a *Young Girl in Affliction* [cat. 32]), and this group, whose ambitious composition sets it apart from the others in which Stouf’s academic training is still evident. Little noted in other printed reviews, the *Hercules* was attacked by the *Mercure de France* as a “labored, one might almost say tormented, composition.” Stouf may have contributed this terracotta again at the Salon of 1817, the year of his accession to the Institut (the *livret* lists no. 905, *Labors of Hercules*, and no. 906, *Fight with the Centaurs*).

The main group represents a melee involving three powerful bodies: Hercules grapples with one centaur, while a second, in complete defeat, collapses on the ground. Hercules’ fight with the centaurs is associated with the hunt of the Erymanthian Boar, one of the twelve Labors imposed on the hero by his cousin Eurystheus. As Lemprière (1788 [1984 ed.], p. 137) writes: “when



71



71 (reverse)



Hercules and the Nemean Lion



Hercules and the Hydra of Lerna



Hercules and the Cretan Bull



Hercules and the Rape of Deianira

71 (details)



Fig. 103
Susini, after a model by Giambologna,
Hercules Vanquishing a Centaur,
second quarter of the 17th century, bronze.
Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection

[Hercules] was going to hunt the boar of Erymanthus, [he] was kindly entertained by the Centaur Pholus, who gave him wine which belonged to the rest of the Centaurs, but had been given them on condition of their treating Hercules with it whenever he passed through their territory. They resented the liberty which Hercules took with their wine, and attacked him with uncommon fury. The hero defended himself with his arrows, and defeated his adversaries.”

Three of the base reliefs show other Labors: Hercules strangles the Nemean Lion; he fights the Lernaean Hydra (assisted by his nephew Iolaus, who holds fiery brands to cauterize the monster’s gaping neck and prevent its grotesque heads from growing back); and he captures the Cretan Bull. The fourth shows Hercules shooting an arrow at the centaur Nessus, who was in the process of abducting the hero’s wife, Deianira. About this last episode Lemprière (1788 [1984 ed.], p. 405) relates: “Nessus offered violence to Deianira, whom Hercules had entrusted to his care, with orders to carry her across the river Euenus. Hercules saw the distress of his wife from the opposite shore of the river, and immediately let fly one of his poisoned arrows, which struck the centaur to the heart. Nessus, as he expired, gave the tunic he then wore to Deianira, assuring her that, from the poisoned blood which had flowed from his wounds, it had received the power of calling a husband away from unlawful loves. Deianira received it with pleasure, and this mournful present caused the death of Hercules.”

With this work Stouf addressed a major problem in sculpture: the arrangement of three entangled bodies seen in the round. In choosing to confront two equine bodies with that of a man, he allied himself with the

sixteenth-century Florentines whose plastic experiments demonstrated their fascination with the man-animal relationship. During his Italian stay Stouf is likely to have visited Florence, where he could have studied the colossal marble groups by Giambologna and Vincenzo de’ Rossi (Palazzo Vecchio). He was probably also influenced by seventeenth-century bronzes of compositions on a reduced scale inspired by the marble group in the Loggia dei Lanzi (fig. 103). From these models he learned how to make complex volumes turn in space and to create figures that could be grasped from multiple points of view, though in his group he added a new challenge: a second centaur. He interprets the motif in his own way, giving the defeated centaur a languishing expression that typifies his style. His vigorous, concise modeling is evident in the reliefs, rapidly sketched yet clearly intelligible. The silhouettes, modeled with the thumb and finished with the knife or spatula, stand out against a furiously scratched background, in which some summary indications of landscape can be detected. The two plaster reliefs retain the memory of the clay modeled by the artist. With this work, conceived like a precious casket, Stouf revives the spirit of exquisite objects of the Renaissance. At the same time his choice of terracotta as a medium is well in line with the taste of the eighteenth-century connoisseurs for whom the work was intended.

GS

72

JOSEPH CHINARD

Lyon, 1756–Lyon, 1813

Nessus Abducting Deianira

Terracotta, 41.8 × 38.5 × 15.2 cm (16½ × 15¼ × 6 in.)

Inscribed: in paint on the front of the base: *DONNE PAR MR CHINARD* (Given by M. Chinard)

Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts (H 797)

PROVENANCE

The sculptor’s studio until his death (1813) and the death of his widow, Marie, née Berthaud (1839); bequeathed by the artist to the museum in his will dated October 15, 1811; given by Mme Chinard, August 30, 1813

REFERENCES

Musées de la ville de Lyon 1887, p. 2, no. 17; Lami 1910–11, vol. 1, p. 201; Desvernay 1915, pp. 124, 140; Rocher-Jauneau 1978, pp. 28–29, ill.

This group, which is not mentioned in the list that Joseph Chinard made of the works executed during his first stay in Rome (manuscript in the Bibliothèque Municipale, Lyon; see Cantinelli 1905), probably dates



72

from his second trip to Italy, about 1791–92 (Rocher-Jauneau 1978, p. 28). It was evidently influenced by the analogous subjects of Giambologna and his pupils, whose small bronzes show the centaur Nessus rearing with Deianira seated or crouching on his back (fig. 104; see Paris 1999, nos. 56, 175, 176, ill.). But differences are immediately evident: Chinard elongates the body of the centaur, whose stability is derived solely from the support of the river Euenus; Deianira, tied to her abductor's torso by an animal-hide belt, is stretched out on his back in a less dynamic attitude than that of her sixteenth- and seventeenth-century predecessors (for the story of Nessus and Deianira, see cat. no. 71).

Chinard was fascinated by the motif of the centaur and of the horse in general. For his protector, the chevalier de La Font de Juis, he copied while in Rome the *Centaur Tamed by Cupid* in the Borghese collection (marble, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon; Rocher-Jauneau 1978, pp. 10–11, ill.). One of his most beautiful terracotta groups represents the death of the two centaurs Cyllarus and Hylonome, from an episode in the fight between the Centaurs and the Lapiths taken from book 12 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (formerly coll. Penha-Longa; fig. 105; Tourneux 1909, ill. p. 2). The artist liked the contrast between the robust equine forms, admirably observed, and the delicacy of the young faces. He addressed the



Fig. 104
Giambologna, *Nessus Abducting Deianira*, 1575–80, bronze. Paris, Musée du Louvre



Fig. 105
Chinard, *Cyllarus and Hylonome*, terracotta. Whereabouts unknown



Fig. 106
Chinard, *The Death of a Niobid*, terracotta. Private collection

same antithesis in the *Death of a Niobid* (fig. 106), a wonderful work whose streamlined style marks it as substantially later than the present terracotta.

The audacity of *Nessus Abducting Deianira* lies in the lightness of the centaur's leap. Chinard's great technical prowess is evident in the modeling and firing of a composition so complex and airy. His liking for contrast and plastic rhymes is seen in the clear characterization of the three protagonists. The old man leaning on his urn merges with the silt and the witty evocation of flowing water. The athletic centaur, resolutely raising his right arm, has a young face and a vigorous body, his muscles taut beneath the skin. Deianira, smaller in size to accentuate her vulnerability and half-clothed in wind-tossed drapery, personifies the victim, slender and defenseless, wide-eyed with terror. These figures form a superb ob-

ject, the genesis of which is unknown. Since Chinard kept it in his studio until his death, it was unlikely to have been commissioned by a connoisseur. Excited by Rome's richness of antique models, he might have worked without the support of a client, hoping to find a buyer on his return to France. Or he may have kept it because it had some personal importance for him. These speculations remain unresolved. Most important, the group shows Chinard's early brilliance in realizing motifs that would absorb him throughout his life.

GS

73–77

JOHAN TOBIAS SERGEL

Stockholm, 1740–Stockholm, 1814

73

Nessus and Deianira

Red chalk, 24 × 17.5 cm (9½ × 6⅞ in.)

Watermark: Standing lion

Inscribed in unknown hand on back, brown ink and graphite:

220./12

Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (H 925/1875)

PROVENANCE

Artist's estate, 1814; purchased from his heirs, 1875

REFERENCES

Göthe 1898, pp. 54–55; Brising 1914a, pp. 87, 89, ill.; Josephson 1956, vol. 1, pp. 167, 170, ill.; Olausson and Scherf 2002, pp. 58, 60, ill.

Paris and Stockholm only



72 (reverse)



PROVENANCE

Artist's estate, 1814; purchased from his heirs in 1875

REFERENCES

Josephson 1956, vol. 1, pp. 171, 172, ill.; Scherf in Musée du Louvre 2002, p. 60; Olausson and Scherf 2002, pp. 58, 60–61, ill.

Paris and Stockholm only

76

Centaur Embracing a Bacchante

Graphite, brown black ink, gray and brown gray wash, 20 × 27.8 cm (7 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 11 in.)

Watermark: Circle with bird on three hills; at top the letter F

Inscribed in unknown hand on back, brown ink and graphite:

141./12

Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (H A36/1971; previously erroneously designated 899/1875)

PROVENANCE

Artist's estate, 1814; purchased from his heirs in 1875

73

74

Centaur Embracing a Bacchante

Graphite, brown black ink, 7.5 × 14.4 cm (3 × 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

Watermark: stripes; Italian paper

Inscribed by artist on back, brown ink: *Monsieur A/delcrantz/*; inscribed in unknown hand on back, brown ink and graphite:

120./12

Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (H 940/1875)

PROVENANCE

Artist's estate, 1814; purchased from his heirs in 1875

REFERENCES

Josephson 1956, vol. 1, pp. 171, 172, ill.; Olausson and Scherf 2002, pp. 58, 60, ill.

Paris and Stockholm only

75

Centaur Embracing a Bacchante

Graphite, brown black ink, 13.5 × 19 cm (5 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Watermark: Coat of arms with post horn; paper not Italian

Inscribed by artist, brown ink: *Monsieur le Baron./Mon*; inscribed in unknown hand on back, brown ink and graphite: 62./12

Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (H 948/1875)



74



75



76

REFERENCES

Antonsson 1942, p. 169, ill.; Josephson 1956, vol. 1, pp. 170–71, 172, ill.; Scherf in Musée du Louvre 2002, p. 59; Olausson and Scherf 2002, pp. 59, 60–61, ill.

Paris and Stockholm only

77

Centaur Embracing a Bacchante

Terracotta, 36.5 × 39.5 × 17.5 cm (14 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)
Paris, Musée du Louvre (RF 4632)

PROVENANCE

Perhaps made for Baron Louis Charles Auguste Le Tonnelier de Breteuil (1730–1807); perhaps his descendants and heirs until Jehan, marquis de Gontaut (1865–1937); his cousin Guillaume, marquis de Biron (1859–1939); his sale, Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, June 9–11, 1914, no. 99 (Clodion); acquired by F. Masseau for Louis Renault (annotated catalogue of the Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale Française); private collection, France, until 1981; New York, art market; acquired for the museum on January 28, 1998

REFERENCES

Scherf in Musée du Louvre 2002, pp. 58–60, ill.; Olausson and Scherf 2002, pp. 56–66, ill.

Many of Sergel's drawings, presenting an evident character of sketches for sculpture, have been of early interest to scholars. In 1898 Georg Göthe published a red chalk study of a centaur and a young woman (a nymph or bacchante; Göthe 1898, p. 89). His hypothesis that the body of Sergel's sculptural work had been considerably

larger than was known up to then was confirmed a decade later with the rediscovery of the terracottas in the Cronstedt collection in Fullerö (Göthe 1911, pp. 449–50; see also cat. no. 91). Like several historians after him, Göthe noted Sergel's comment in his autobiography that he had created innumerable terracottas during his time in Rome, so many that he could not name them all. Curiously Göthe did not connect this remark with another statement from the autobiography in which the artist observed that "many of the group models that I made in Rome are now in France" (January 12, 1797; cited by Bjurström 1975, p. 102). Göthe was perhaps so dazzled by the Fullerö collection that he failed to grasp the significance of Sergel's declaration about the location of his works. Ninety years later, in 1998, the subject was reopened with the Louvre's remarkable acquisition of the large terracotta, *Centaur Embracing a Bacchante* (cat. no. 77). This rediscovery confirmed what researchers had long suspected, namely that the many sketches of this subject in Stockholm's Nationalmuseum resulted in a terracotta. Four years later there was more excitement when the sketch of the same composition (fig. 107) resurfaced in a French collection (that formed by Edmond Courty) and was sold at auction (Paris, Hôtel Drouot, December 9, 2002, no. 33, ill.).

The subject of centaur and nymph first appears in Sergel's artistic production of the early 1770s. The sculptor seems to have thought in terms of related pairs, a practice that the literature on Sergel has often overlooked, perhaps because it was reminiscent of architectural decoration. Just as in the case of his celebrated work

The Faun, the sculptor worked on two groups at the same time: *Europa and Jupiter in the Form of a Bull* and *Nessus and Deianira*. In the first instance the artist was inspired by a Carracci medallion in Palazzo Farnese in Rome. There the bull is shown swimming in the sea, carrying Europa on its back. Sergel chose to set the episode on terra firma. He seemed to have been unsatisfied with Carracci's presentation of the interplay between the massive animal and the slender, delicate woman. Ragnar Josephson, the artist's biographer, relates that Sergel based the bull on that in *Nike Sacrificing the Bull*, a renowned antique relief in the Villa Borghese (Josephson 1956, vol. 1, p. 167, figs. 222–23). But it is not known whether Sergel actually got around to creating a terracotta of Europa and the Bull.

When Oscar Antonsson wrote in 1942 about Sergel's activities in Rome, he was influenced not least by Harald Brising in his assumption that the many sketches of a centaur with a bacchante had indeed resulted in a finished terracotta. Antonsson supposed that this sculpture was lost (Antonsson 1942, pp. 168–69). As with *Europa and the Bull*, Sergel made his first study of the Centaur in red chalk (cat. no. 73). According to myth, Hercules had asked Nessus to transport his consort, Deianira, over the river Euenus (see cat. no. 72). The innocent start of this adventure supplies the red chalk drawing's theme. Like Jupiter in the guise of a bull, the centaur is at rest while the nymph reclines with a grace as delightful as that of Europa (Olausson and Scherf 2002, p. 58, fig. 3). Perhaps finding this scene too placid, Sergel decided to represent the far more dramatic assault of Deianira by Nessus during the crossing. The revised composition had an altogether different energy, with the erotic dimension newly emphasized. Besides the present red chalk drawing, seven sketches have been preserved in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (925/1875, 940/1875, 948/1875, 968/1875, 970/1875, 1015/1875, and A36/1971; a Wounded Centaur is mentioned in the inventory of the artist's estate; see Göthe 1898, p. 330). They are all executed in brown black ink, which Sergel began to use in 1770. These drafts show the artist exploring the depiction of

the centaur's lustful attack on the nymph and her struggle to resist him. In cat. no. 74 the centaur carries the nymph in a savage grip, her legs extending beyond his body. This violent movement would have been difficult to translate into a three-dimensional work. Instead he tried the nymph battling the centaur in an arclike movement (cat. no. 75). This was the definitive solution that the artist chose for the terracotta.

In the terracotta group (cat. no. 77) Sergel masterfully creates an equilibrium between two figures that move in opposite directions. The bacchante (her thyrsus has fallen under the centaur's body) seems to want to escape the monster's hold, while his force throws him off-balance. His body bends back unrelentingly, intensifying the scene's drama and movement. None of the subject's eroticism has been muted by the artist, who has taken great care with all the details. The surface of the work was perfectly achieved. Nothing has been left to chance or presented at all sketchily, as it would be in the master's *Achilles and the Centaur Chiron* (cat. no. 78). The latter group has an equivalent in the recently discovered sketch (fig. 107), which opens up an interesting new aspect of the various phases of representation in Sergel's production of terracottas. Here he was not interested only in the composition as a whole; he also gave special attention to isolated details such as the arms, feet, and musculature. In the larger Louvre version (cat. no. 77) the sculptor merged these details in a larger totality: the muscles are more supple and the play of light less dramatic than in the small model. In the definitive drawing of the composition (cat. no. 76) Sergel added a socle, certainly indicating that he was working toward a sculpture in the round, probably that now in the Louvre (cat. no. 77).

The patron was conceivably the baron de Breteuil, whom Sergel very likely knew in Sweden when he was ambassador there (1763–70) and whom he saw again in Naples when the diplomat was based there (1770–75). The annotation *Monsieur le Baron* on cat. no. 75 could easily refer to him. The sketch could then have been presented to him for his opinion before the terracotta was realized.

MO



Fig. 107
Sergel, *Centaur
Embracing a
Bacchante*, about
1770, terracotta.
Private collection



77



77 (reverse)



78

JOHAN TOBIAS SERGEL

Stockholm, 1740–Stockholm, 1814

Achilles and the Centaur Chiron

Terracotta, 41.9 × 41.5 × 19 cm (16½ × 16¾ × 7½ in.)
Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (NM Sk 486)

PROVENANCE

Artist's estate, 1814; purchased from his heirs in 1815

EXHIBITIONS

Stockholm 1983, no. 216; Stockholm 1990, no. 198, ill.

REFERENCES

Grafström 1819, p. 326; Lange 1882, pt. 2; Göthe 1898, p. 76; Brising 1914b, pp. 72–73; Göthe 1921, p. 44; Antonsson 1942, pp. 172–73; Josephson 1956, vol. 1, pp. 172–76, ill.; Olausson and Scherf 2002, p. 60, ill.

A striking feature of several of Sergel's terracotta figure groups is his fascination with the human body and its musculature. Bodies at rest and bodies in motion, submitted to strong tensions, react quite differently. The sculptor found inspiration in, among others, Neapolitan fishermen and Roman grave robbers (see Stockholm 1990, pp. 62–63), communities that had little in common with the *Iliad*'s heroes. At the same time antique sculpture played a large role in Sergel's artistic formation. The formula he espoused was "By day the Antique and by night the Study of Nature" (Sergel autobiography, cited in Bjurström 1975, p. 97). Mythical beings like centaurs did not walk the streets of Rome, but they were omnipresent in the city's collections of antiquities. It might be thought that Sergel sketched horses' bodies to prepare for those of his centaurs, but he did not. He appears, however, to have given much thought to the *Furietti Centaurs*, paired marbles in Rome's Musei Capitolini (Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 178–79, no. 20, figs. 91, 92).

Antique influence is particularly strong in the artist's first sketches, in which he stresses musculature. His first sketch for the *Faun* is almost overly explicit (Stockholm 1990, no. 205, ill.). Its richly developed trunk reprises both the *Laocoon* and athletic Carracci figures in Palazzo Farnese. This trait is also apparent in the newly discovered sketch for the *Centaur Embracing a Bacchante* (fig. 107). Sergel expended enormous energy on the centaur's shoulders and back as well as on the prominent veins on its arms and hands, expressing the strength it needed to overcome the girl. The centaur's virile, animalistic strength is carried over into the large terracotta (cat. no. 107), where the muscles have a more elegant play of light and shadows with more nuanced transitions. The musculature is evoked beneath the delicately modeled skin, having been more clearly indicated in the first sketch. The expressive and somewhat exaggerated way of characterizing the centaur's body that denotes the sketch for cat. no. 77 has a direct counterpart in the present *Achilles and the Centaur Chiron*. Also known as *Chiron Teaching the Young Achilles the Art of Weaponry*, it was

probably created in 1770–72. On the basis of drawings (cat. nos. 73–76), Harald Brising (1914b, pp. 72–73) and later Oscar Antonsson (1942, pp. 172–73) had considered these two compositions to have been pendants.

Achilles and Chiron both display Sergel's fascination with the athletic body. Chiron's torso resembles, among others, that of the *Farnese Hercules*. Since Chiron was a benevolent and intelligent being, the teacher of Achilles, Sergel gave him a noble head. Ragnar Josephson (1956, vol. 1, pp. 172–74) suggested its prototype was that of one of the sages in Raphael's *Disputa*, which the sculptor had copied.

In cat. no. 77, two forces are in opposition, but in the present group two figures join together in movement. Here Chiron teaches Achilles the best way to throw a javelin. The teacher lays his hand lightly on his student's chest, showing him how to bend his body back to achieve the strength for his throw. For the sake of compositional verisimilitude, Sergel discarded an earlier drawing in which the athlete stood too close to Chiron (Stockholm 1990, no. 199, ill.). In the terracotta Achilles deploys his right arm freely, forming one of the arcs that make the group so dynamic. In cat. no. 77 the centaur is recumbent, but here Chiron half stands in order to be eye-to-eye with Achilles. Sergel positions the centaur with his massive upper body a little forward of Achilles, thereby increasing the tension between the two figures. The contrast becomes stronger with the elongation of the athlete's body and the relative diminishment of his head. The composition has somewhat the appearance of a relief detached from its back. Unlike cat. no. 77, the front is enunciated and crystal-clear, especially emphasized by the front edge of the base being finished while at the rear it is simply cut off.

It is not known if Sergel created a larger, more fully developed terracotta version of *Achilles and Chiron* analogous to cat. no. 77. Although the artist's estate included a damaged "Centaurus" in plaster, there is nothing to indicate that he intended to return to work further on that motif.

MO

4

Subjects from Fable and Myth



In eighteenth-century Europe, classical themes and their correct interpretation assumed paramount importance. Shaped by eloquence and erudition, sculptures manifested uplifting elements of virtue and nobility, as well as the artist's desire to capture attention and give pleasure. The ancient equation of the good with the beautiful was the foundation of aesthetic thought. In his great Latin poem *De arte graphica* (1668), Charles-Alphonse Dufresnoy elegantly stated the fundamentals of classicism. He directed the painter "to make choice of a subject beautiful and noble," one "capable of all the charms and graces."¹ A far greater body of theoretical writing is devoted to subject matter in painting than in sculpture, but the same reasoning applies to the visualization of themes in clay or marble as in paint throughout the period. The capability of art to improve and ennoble as well as to beguile the eye, as posited by Dufresnoy, hardened into a duty by the end of the century. The painter François Gérard, writing in 1793, restated the moral mission of the arts, "to cause vice to be hated, virtue to be adored, by charming the eyes."² If the subject was inspirational, the treatment, to be worthy of it, had to be equally elevated.

Beginning sculptors were accustomed to themes being dictated to them, and under competitive circumstances the narrative attractions of a topic could be critical to success or failure. Luc Breton's entry for the 1758 Concorso Clementino in Rome, *Metellus Saving the Palladium* (cat. no. 33), succeeded, for example, because Plutarch's account offered exceptionable chances to demonstrate a variety of skills, especially the command of narrative. The theme given to Richard Westmacott for the 1795 Concorso Clementino, *Jacob Confiding Benjamin to Judah* (cat. no. 38), is a less gripping tale, but the Englishman won through sheer compositional proficiency, making the story more seductive than it actually is. The *Encyclopédie* gave advice for selection of subjects, citing examples in painting (the same strictures would apply to history subjects in sculpture). First the artist had to be equal to the task of conveying grandeur: "The Sacrifice of Iphigenia only suits a picture in which the painter can give to its figures a certain greatness."³ Most important, the artist had to objectify emotions in ways that would engage the viewer's empathetic involvement: "When the imitations [of actions] which painting presents to us have the power to attach themselves to us, everyone says of them that those are fortunate [*heureux*] subjects. The pathetic representation of the Sacrifice of Jephtha's Daughter or the Death of Germanicus are, for example, fortunate subjects."⁴ Hence the overt appeal to the senses through extremes of pathos enacted by perfectly formed athletic bodies, displaying vivid facial expressions, recurs throughout our period.

The subjects of Neoclassical sculpture have not been analyzed and charted like those of painting,⁵ but they followed much the same arc. Basically, the first half of

1. Dufresnoy 1695, p. 11.

2. J.-L.-J. David 1880, p. 153. See the classic study, "The *Exemplum Virtutis*," in Rosenblum 1967, pp. 50–106.

3. *Encyclopédie* 1751–80, vol. 15 (1765), p. 644.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 645.

5. Bardon 1963.

the eighteenth century gave prolonged approbation to the Late Baroque's overwhelming preponderance of biblical subjects, "improving" as they are by their very nature, while Roman history continued to be mined for exemplars of loyalty and stoic fortitude. The popularity of episodes from Virgil's *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* was unabated throughout the century, as were more loosely formulated erotic imaginings derived from an assortment of ancient poetry, Bacchic sarcophagi, and the ever-notorious doings of Cupid. The latter part of the century was marked by a deepening respect for Greek poetry and for Homer in particular. This embrace of Homer paralleled Winckelmann's brilliantly articulated and broadly accepted argument that the closest truth to nature and the most rigorous compositional standards were to be found in ancient Greek sculpture. (A corollary—the devaluation of Roman sculpture as merely derivative of the Greek—unfortunately achieved widespread currency.)

Homeric qualities, especially his directness of communication, were summarized later by Matthew Arnold: "The translator of Homer should above all be penetrated by a sense of four qualities of his author—that he is eminently rapid; that he is eminently plain and direct, both in the evolution of his thought and in the expression of it, that is, both in his syntax and in his words; that he is eminently plain and direct in the substance of his thought, that is, in his matter and ideas; and, finally, that he is eminently noble."⁶ Determined history painters such as Gavin Hamilton and Jacques-Louis David and sculptors such as Banks and Canova and later Thorvaldsen had earlier seized upon these virile aspects in Homer, particularly his unembellished, telegraphic manner of delivery, his vaunted nobility, and his unerring capacity to seem fresh and new, and allied them to the visual lessons obtained from study of the severer strains of ancient art. Rigorously earnest and stirring productions resulted, sometimes inflected by political realities (especially in the Europe of Napoleon). Grand austerity was also achieved by the foremost composers and librettists of the period, as new heights were scaled in opera across the Continent. The objects in the present exhibition share with opera a radical coming-to-grips with antique subject matter voiced in a versatile range leaping from trembling pathos to outright clangor.

It is apparent that muscular Greco-Roman antiquarian influences coexisted with others, often of a sentimental nature. Episodes from the postclassical history of France gained favor during the *ancien régime*, when they were adapted to bolster the monarchy. Tales of Charlemagne would be used in praise of Napoleon, just as Alexander the Great was recruited to express his martial achievements and those of his fellow rulers, swelling patriotic breasts in many a nation. Eventually visions of the national past would become domesticated in the *style troubadour* in tender pictures and terracottas on medieval and Renaissance themes, an important harbinger of full-fledged Romanticism.

JDD

6. Arnold 1861, p. 9.

Arcadia, the Loves of the Gods, and Cupid

Arcadia is an actual geographic region in Greece, in the heart of the Peloponnese. Long populated by shepherds, this mountainous area maintained its patriarchal traditions. Many events in Greek and Roman mythology are said to have taken place there, including the hunts of Diana, the races of Pan and the satyrs, the baths of the nymphs. Jupiter had a temple on Mount Lycaeus. Ovid speaks of his “dear Arcadia” in his *Metamorphoses* and of Diana, Bacchus, and Pan in his *Fasti*. Latin poetry,¹ transmitted by the literature of the classical age and the Renaissance,² made Arcadia the privileged dwelling place of myth, the land of serene happiness, without constraints. And in Virgil’s *Eclogues* “an eternal Arcadia was born.”³ “It was, then, in the imagination of Virgil, and of Virgil alone, that the idea of Arcady, as we know it, was born—that a bleak and chilly district of Greece came to be transfigured into an imaginary realm of pure bliss.”⁴

The Arcadian Academy, founded in Rome in 1690, was a center of intellectual activity throughout the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth. At its founding it consisted of “poets, who emulated Theocritus’s *Idyls* and Virgil’s *Eclogues* in hopes of recapturing the purity and simplicity of the model that inspired them.”⁵ Increasingly other figures from the intellectual world were invited to join.⁶ Artists were in the minority—of the nine thousand members recorded during its more than a century of existence, 155 were artists, of whom 86 were Italian and 39 French⁷ (most of whom joined after the 1740s)—but their presence was felt. The vitality of this society shows at what point Arcadia became a cultural reference in Rome.

Enchanted Arcadia was populated by, in addition to shepherds and shepherdesses, an entire world of fabulous divinities whose activities—usually motivated by amorous desire, as were those of the gods on Olympus—were the source of legends and the inspiration of artists. Priapus, ithyphallic god of fertility and guardian of gardens, “who made them bear fruit,” had “goat’s ears and a mantle over his shoulders, which did nothing to hide his nudity”⁸ (cat. no. 79); Pan and his band of fauns and satyrs⁹ lay in wait for, hunted, and seduced nymphs¹⁰ (cat. no. 80). Locales of tranquil happiness, auspicious for offerings (see cat. nos. 19, 62, 79), were sometimes enlivened by boisterous processions of bacchants and bacchantes crowned with ivy,¹¹ wearing animal skins, brandishing thyrsi (cat. no. 77), beating their cymbals or tambourines, riding goats¹² (cat. no. 83), or accompanying Bacchus’s panther (cat. no. 84). Major sculptors such as Sergel, Clodion, and Marin explored this mythical realm abundantly in many of their works; few during the period completely ignored these fashionable subjects,

illustrative of the spirits of nature and the joy of life (figs. 108, 109).

From the Renaissance on, artists mined Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* for its piquant revelations of the doings of the ancient gods, variously illustrating their pluck, their amorous wooings, or their misadventures. Neoclassical sculptors expanded this fascination. Sergel, for example, like his friend the painter Fuseli, was steeped in classical literature, entering into a myth wholeheartedly so as to extract the burlesque humor that obtains in the thorny marital relations of Jupiter and Juno, for example (cat. no. 92). Two-figure groups explored interrelationships of the immortals, invariably shown nude in intimate, often confrontational situations, and elicited vibrant behavioral and textural contrasts between the gods and their lovers or, as in the case of *Hercules and Alcestis* (cat. no. 93), their protégés.

If there was a signature myth for the Neoclassical generations, it was surely that of Cupid and Psyche. It had been handled frequently in the Renaissance as well as later—entire fresco cycles including Raphael’s in the Farnesina in Rome come to mind—but the ancient account by Apuleius in *The Golden Ass* was given fresh impetus in the infinitely delicate and appealing retelling by La Fontaine, *Les amours de Psyché et de Cupidon* (1669), which circulated across Europe in numerous editions and translations.

Besides Canova, Sergel, and Dannecker, whose meditations on the theme are present in the exhibition (cat. nos. 9,



Fig. 108
Jacques-François Saly, *Satyr Embracing a Child*, 1774, terracotta. Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum



Fig. 109
Pierre Surugue, *Satyress Carrying a Child*, 1781, terracotta. Buenos Aires, Museo Nacional de Arte Decorativo

88–90), many other sculptors tackled aspects of the tale, as for example Tenerani, Gibson, and Thorvaldsen (the latter with a whole series of reliefs for Palazzo Torlonia in Rome).¹³ Their work parallels that of the painters, among them Batoni, Kauffmann, David, Prudhon, Gérard, Meynier, Picot, and even Goya.¹⁴ The names — Psyche, for the soul, and Cupid, for love — encouraged artists to invest the subject with manifold layers of spirituality and eroticism. Cupid and Psyche reached the apogee of their popularity in the French Empire period, when the girl even lent her name to the *psyché*, a cheval glass or freestanding mirror, because in La Fontaine her beauties were forever being reflected in mirrors and crystalline streams. This is a minor but telling instance of how Greco-Roman mythology penetrated fashion and every corner of the daily Neoclassical consciousness — all brought about through the impetus of poets and the greatest interpreters in the fine arts, who were closely followed across the continent.

The god of love reigned supreme over the wave of putomania that swept Europe in the eighteenth century, nowhere more prepotently than in France. There was hardly a sculptor who did not have several representations of Cupid in his repertory. The subject offered a host of attractions: lighthearted allusion to the classical past; display of nubile flesh in a range from childhood to adolescence; a suggestion of flight or the potential for flight; commentary on the joys and chagrins of carnal love; and communication of coded amatory messages, discreet or indiscreet, that were respectable because they had become conventional. A key Cupid in a long succession was Falconet's *Menacing Cupid* (fig. 119). Finger to lips, this boy is a byword for wicked secretiveness. Cupid's victims could take their revenge: among lost works one would like to see reappear is Julien's relief *Nymphs Clipping the Sleeping Cupid's Wings*.¹⁵ But Eros almost always gained the upper hand through stealth or whim or by taking sudden pity on lovers and thus enjoying their worship.

Indicative of Cupid's vogue are the thirty-five different compositions dominated by him, modeled by Boizot for reproduction in *biscuit de Sèvres* and bearing such titles as *Love the Arrow Sharpener* and *Love Giving No Quarter*.¹⁶ Even in Boizot's hands, however, Cupid would suffer a sharp decline in popularity after the Revolution. By 1791, a difficult year, Boizot's *Love Sacrificed* was invested with a patriotic sentiment of relinquishment, while by 1796 his *Love, Caressing Beauty, Enjoys Fidelity*, in which Beauty is barely draped, was a rather confused expression of the new morality urging constancy in marriage.¹⁷

Cupid would effortlessly reclaim his rule over the more sybaritic households of the Empire, notably with the

elegant masterpiece Canova carved for Joséphine, *Cupid and Psyche* (or *Psyche Awakened by Cupid's Kiss*). Drawing from the Cupid and Psyche myth, artists of later Neoclassicism would enlist Cupid to help them conquer new realms of psychological investigation into dreams and trances,¹⁸ while statuettes of the young god maliciously practicing his wiles would gradually subside.

GS/JDD

1. The Greek *Idyls* of Theocritus actually take place in Sicily.
2. For example, the golden age described by François Fénelon in *Les aventures de Télémaque* (1699; Paris, 1995), pp. 56–57.
3. Maurice Rat, introduction to Virgil, *Les bucoliques, Les gorgiques* (Paris, 1967), p. 20.
4. Panofsky 1982, p. 300.
5. O. Michel 1987, p. 51.
6. "Between 1690 and 1800, this academy had about nine thousand registered members, of which thirteen hundred and fifty were foreign," among them several famous Frenchmen (including Fontenelle, Voltaire, Buffon, and the directors of the Académie de France in Rome). "As time passed, poetry was no longer a requirement for membership, even though the Arcadians remained faithful to their first vocation" (O. Michel 1987, p. 52). See also Barroero and Susinno 2000.
7. Among the French sculptors who were Arcadian academicians were Michel-Ange Slodtz, Jacques Saly, André Lebrun, and François-Marie Poncet. Hubert Robert became a member, but not Pajou, Clodion, or Chinard.
8. Montfaucon 1722, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 276–77.
9. "One usually regards as fauns those who have completely human form except for the ears and tail of a goat, and as satyrs those who have, in addition to the ears and the tail, the horns, legs, and hoofs of the same animal, or sometimes only the horns or only the legs and hoofs of a goat." Ibid., pp. 261–62.
10. The different types of nymphs are distinguished by their habitat: Naiads lived in springs and pools; Dryads in trees; and Nereids in the sea.
11. "Ivy is considered sacred to Bacchus, because he hid under its vines or, according to others, because its leaves resemble grape leaves." Montfaucon 1722, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 233.
12. The goat is often associated with bacchanales: "These animals have a hunger for grapes, and are very destructive to grape vines." Pierre-Jean Mariette, *Traité des pierres gravées* (Paris, 1750), vol. 2, no. XLIII.
13. Hartmann 1967, figs. 85–143. The palace having since been destroyed, the reliefs, executed by Pietro Galli after Thorvaldsen's drawings, are best studied through the plasters in Copenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum.
14. Zaunschirm 1988; Noireau 1991; Carouge and Zurich 1994; Cavicchioli 2002, pp. 184–218.
15. Worley 1988, p. 190, nos. 18a (plaster 1779), 18b (marble 1783).
16. Bourgeois and Lechevallier-Chevignard 1914, pls. 16, 18. See also Versailles 2001–2, pp. 252–54.
17. Bourgeois and Lechevallier-Chevignard 1914, pls. 45, 48.
18. For Cupid and Psyche, see also cat. no. 90; Carouge and Zurich 1994; and Cavicchioli 2002, pp. 200–16, a chapter which the author perceptively subtitles "A Return to Antiquity and a Taste for Introspection."



79

CLAUDE MICHEL, KNOWN AS
CLODION

Nancy, 1738–Paris, 1814

Offering to Priapus

Terracotta, 45.1 × 31.7 × 21.6 cm (17¾ × 12½ × 8½ in.)

Inscribed: on the back, on the clouds at right: CLODION
[the N reversed]

Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum (85.SC.166)

PROVENANCE

Sale, Paris, coll. Dellezenne, May 19, 1818, no. 7; sale, Paris, coll. L.K., May 20, 1833, no. 23; sale, Paris, coll. W. Hope, June 4–16, 1855, no. 745; sale, Paris, coll. A. L. Odier père, January 16–19, 1860, p. 3, n.n.; sale, Paris, coll. E. Secrétan, July 1, 1889, no. 218, ill.; sale, Paris, Galerie Charpentier, December 19–20, 1949, no. 142, pl. xxxv ("The presentation to the god of Gardens"); Paris, private collection, before 1955; left France, March 18, 1981; New York, private collection, before 1984; acquired by the museum in 1985

REFERENCES

Lami 1910–11, vol. 2, p. 153; *Connaissance des arts*, no. 40 (June 15, 1955), cover ill.; Hodgkinson 1984, p. 807, fig. 82, and ill. facing p. 737; “Acquisitions” 1986, p. 257, no. 230, ill.; Scherf in Paris 1992a, p. 314, figs. 157, 158; Fusco 1997, p. 19, ill.; Fusco, Fogelman, and Cambareri 1998, pp. 98–99, ill.

This group has been interpreted as a vestal presenting a young woman to the altar of Pan, but it is unlikely that a virgin disciple of Vesta would introduce a barely clad girl to a concupiscent male term. The subject was correctly described in the catalogue of the Dellezenne sale: “This is an offering that a young girl has just made of her charms to Priapus. She is accompanied by an old [*sic*] priestess of the god, whose statue [*is*] enveloped in the smoke from the sacrifice that is offered him, like the term which supports it. Cupid, unwilling to lose anything of this offering, hides himself near the sacrificial altar. A pastoral staff wound with flowers, a patera and other sacrificial vases, and fruits decorate the foreground of this charming work.” The son of Venus and Bacchus, the god Priapus watches over vineyards and gardens. He was often shown ithyphallic and represented as a term: “God of gardens: it was believed that it was he who guarded them and made them fruitful. . . . He has the ears of a goat” (Montfaucon 1722, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 276–77). Cupid winds a floral garland around the statue of Priapus, camouflaging the vigor of the god’s desire.

The subject of the sacrifice (or offering) to Priapus was often treated in classical antiquity, especially on gems (see, for example, Henig 1997, p. 26, figs. 8, 9; Paris 2000, no. 87/37, ill.). Artists from the Renaissance through the eighteenth century were inspired by the theme. Related subjects are found even more frequently: in 1776 Louis-Simon Boizot created two charming pieces of biscuit ware for the Sèvres manufactory, *The Offering to Hymen* and *The Offering to Cupid* (Billon 2001–2, pp. 185–86, figs. 5, 6; Versailles 2001–2, p. 252), a type of object that was appreciated by collectors who acquired Clodion’s terracottas.

In the present work Clodion shows the offering with an eminently appealing grace, avoiding any trace of the obscene. The young girl presents her breast with a touching innocence, causing the god, who is overcome, to smile, while the little Cupid, having left his bow and quiver on the ground, stands amusingly on tiptoe to reach the statue. The artist has supplemented his composition with antique-style accessories updated to meet contemporary taste: a perfume burner beneath the term and on the back a witty tripod altar with corners decorated with rams’ heads. The group is one of the artist’s masterpieces, in which he uses his stylistic gifts to best advantage. The composition is frontal, conceived almost as a relief, and demands to be viewed head-on, but the back is admirably finished, with an impressive display of

the priestess’s voluminous drapery (Paris 1992a, p. 312, fig. 158).

The work must date from the years around 1775, a period when Clodion, altogether master of his art, multiplied the formal contrasts between ample fabrics rich in folds, grooved or simply evoked with the point of the tool, and the smooth surfaces of flesh. The group is thus probably contemporary with the terracotta relief of the *Sacrifice to Cupid*, exhibited in the Salon of 1773 (see Scherf in Paris 1992a, pp. 158–59, fig. 87), which is related both in composition and style. GS

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GILLES-LAMBERT GODECHARLE

Brussels, 1750–Brussels, 1835

Pan Pursuing Syrinx

Terracotta, 48 × 35.5 × 15.5 cm (18 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 14 × 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Inscribed: on the rock, near Pan’s hoof: *Godecharle / ft 1787*

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Sculptures (RF 4666)

PROVENANCE

France, private collection (perhaps identifiable with the “group, terracotta: Nymph and satyr, by Godecharles [*sic*],” sale, Neuilly-sur-Seine, heirs of Prince San Severo, June 1, 1902, and days following, p. 37, no. 308, acquired for 1,150 francs); left France for New York, June 15, 1960; London, art market, at least from 1995; acquired in London, 2001

EXHIBITION

New York and London 1998, no. 39, ill.

REFERENCE

Scherf in Musée du Louvre 2002, pp. 67–69, no. 31, ill.

This group by Gilles-Lambert Godecharle illustrates an episode in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*: “On Arcadia’s cool mountain-slopes, among the wood nymphs . . . there was one much sought by suitors. Her sister nymphs called her Syrinx. More than once she had eluded the pursuit of satyrs and all the gods who dwell either in the bosky woods or fertile fields. . . . One day Pan saw her. . . . the nymph, spurning his prayers, fled . . . until she came to Ladon’s stream . . . here, when the water checked her further flight, she besought her sisters of the stream to change her form; . . . Pan, when now he thought he had caught Syrinx, instead of her held naught but marsh reeds in his arms” (*Metamorphoses* 1.689–706). The theme was remarkably popular with artists. Godecharle, for example, could have known illustrations of Ovid (among prints, that of Goltzius or those of the playing cards with fables illustrated by Stefano della Bella or Picart’s engraving after Poussin. He may have remem-



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bered the Pan embracing the clump of reeds painted by Annibale Carracci (Rome, Palazzo Farnese) or that sculpted by Vassé (scene on the vase near the *Bather* executed in 1763 for the duc de Luynes, now in New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art), or painted by Greuze (pedestal in *The Offering to Cupid* of 1769, London, Wallace Collection). There is no shortage of references.

The theme was treated by French sculptors admired at this time. Saly had realized a terracotta group of the subject which from at least 1764 (La Live de Jully 1764, p. 65) until his sale on March 5, 1770 (no. 192), was owned by Ange-Laurent La Live de Jully; Godecharle may have seen this in the collection of the man who acquired it, his master and codisciple Tassaert (according to a handwritten annotation in the copy of the catalogue in the Biblio-

thèque Doucet). Clodion sculpted the theme in 1782 for the bathroom in the Hôtel de Besenval (Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 1, p. 151, ill.); if Godecharle did not see the relief in this very private room, perhaps he knew the model in the sculptor's studio, supposing that he visited Paris after his return to Brussels in 1780. He may also have known the terracotta group by Sigisbert-François Michel (Clodion's elder brother), *The God Pan Pursuing Syrinx* (12 × 8 *pouces* [32.4 × 21.6 cm (12¾ × 8½ in.)]), which formed part of the collection of the banker Haranc de Presle (sale, April 16–24, 1792, no. 166). In any event, these three examples indicate how fashionable the subject was in Paris, encouraging Godecharle to create his own group. The present work dates from 1787, at a time when he was greatly interested in Clodion: Pan's body (though



80 (reverse)

not his face) looks like that of one of Clodion's satyrs, and Syrinx is an echo of Clodion's *Bacchantes Running*.

The group also has a neo-Baroque element not uncommon in the heyday of Neoclassicism. Godecharle had copied Bernini's *Hermaphrodite and David*, and the present work recalls the Roman master's *Apollo Pursuing Daphne* (all three works, Rome, Galleria Borghese).

The genesis of Godecharle's group is not known. It may have been an autonomous work, conceived to decorate the cabinet of an unidentified admirer of terracottas (like the sculptures by Saly and Michel mentioned above); or it may have been a preparatory model for something on a larger scale. In any case the artist used his creation in 1787 to realize a monumental group in stone that he dated 1804 (226 × 203 × 96.5 cm [89 × 79 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 38 in.]; fig. 110; Van Lennep 1992, p. 222, ill.; Duquenne 2001, p. 88, fig. 70). Until 1899 this stone work stood in

the park of the château of Wespelaar, between Malines and Louvain, a property that had belonged to the Artois family of brewers since 1796. The park à l'anglaise was designed at that date by the architect Henry, and its construction began the following year. This park was distinguished by abundant sculptural decoration (Devigne 1925, passim; Duquenne 2001, pp. 69–71), which was entrusted to Godecharle (and his studio), consisting not only of copies after the antique and the great masters but also of original compositions (the works were acquired in 1899 by the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels). There are few compositional differences between the terracotta and the stone versions: Syrinx runs, both arms stretched out before her, closely followed by Pan, who embraces a compact mass of reeds. The upper surface of the base of the stone group, however, is covered with small animals (tortoise, frog, lizard, snake, and so on) as well as vegetation on the back, elements absent from the present sculpture.

Radiography of the terracotta, done before its recent restoration, confirmed that it was fired solid (that is, without being hollowed out). Some cracks, due to the drying or firing of the piece, are visible. The work was executed in a brown clay, except for the arms of Syrinx and Pan's back leg and tail: modeled in a fine, orangy clay, these were added, no doubt after the firing, by means of metal rods. The shiny, greenish patch on the satyr's back suggests that the clay was accidentally covered by a glaze, possibly as a result of contamination by other works in the same firing batch and perhaps indicating an overlong firing time. To mask flaws and unify the surface, a slip—colored wash with a base of liquid clay and pigments (of which no trace has been found)—was probably applied to the piece in the sculptor's studio. Over time, other layers of color were applied, notably after an attempt to clean the work by immersing it in water (a technique practiced particularly in the 1950s). A dramatic consequence of this cleaning was the crumbling of the clay in the lower part, especially at the corner where the urn is found, and the loss of various elements. There followed very considerable infilling with mastic and a crude restoration of the rocks at the back in order to stabilize the group, which was again given a coat of orange paint. All these additions were eliminated after the museum acquired the piece (my thanks to Claire Scemla for her information). The terracotta again displays vigorous modeling and precise contrasts between botanical features, hairy animal skin, and flesh, as well as subtlety of expression. Removal of the additions greatly improved the look of the sculpture at the back, thinning it down and lightening it, although the superb clump of reeds has suffered permanent losses. GS



Fig. 110
Godecharle,
Pan Pursuing Syrinx,
1804, stone.
Brussels, Musées Royaux
des Beaux-Arts

FRENCH

late 18th or early 19th century

*Aristaeus Mourning the Loss of His Bees*Terracotta, 12.3 × 11.5 × 5.9 cm (4 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)
Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs (14666)

PROVENANCE

Paris, A. Deleschamps; bequeathed to his friend, Mlle Georgette Hector; her gift, 1909

This exquisite sketch shows Aristaeus mourning the loss of his bees. The story is told by Virgil in the *Georgics* (4.317–558). The shepherd Aristaeus, son of the nymph Cyrene and Apollo, was a keeper of bees. One day, pursuing Eurydice, wife of Orpheus, he was the unwitting cause of her death: in fleeing, the young woman was mortally bitten by a snake. The gods punished Aristaeus by sending a malady that ravaged his beehives. In despair the young man consulted his mother, who told him to ask Proteus the reason for his ill fortune. Enlightened, he offered sacrifices to Orpheus and Eurydice, leaving oxen carcasses, as instructed, in the sacred grove. Nine days later he revisited the grove, where he saw “sudden and wondrous to tell—throughout the paunch, amid the molten flesh of the oxen, bees buzzing and swarming forth from the ruptured sides, then trailing in vast crowds, till at last on a tree-top they stream together, and hang in clusters from the bending boughs” (*Georgics* 4.354–58). Aristaeus captured the swarms and repopulated his hives.

Here the shepherd, recognizable by his crook and his dog (on the back), is seated nude on a tree stump, with a drapery flung over one shoulder, his head cupped in his left hand in affliction. An empty, overturned hive is under his leg, and honeycombs are scattered on the ground. The main view, in which the subject is positioned completely in profile, was clearly inspired by the classical relief *Endymion* from the Albani collection now in the Musei Capitolini, Rome (fig. 111; *LIMC* 1981–99, vol. 3, pt. 1, ill. p. 729), making the present terracotta an interesting derivation of this in the round.

The work, which is not signed, is finely modeled and remarkably precise in its iconographical details. The very smooth body, which reveals some incisions from the pointing tool, suggests the style of Jacques-Edme Dumont, familiar during the 1790s for representations of scenes of life in Arcadia in terracotta and in a small format (fig. 112). The theme was treated in the eighteenth century—in particular by Gois (plaster exhibited in the Salon of 1767, described by Diderot and the *Mémoires secrets*, drawn by Saint-Aubin) and by Lemerrier (1791; Lami 1910–11, vol. 2, p. 55)—and in 1812, when it was the subject for the Prix de Rome competition. In the absence of certain information, the author of the present terracotta remains unidentified.

GS



Fig. 111
Roman, *Endymion*,
1st century A.D. Rome,
Musei Capitolini



Fig. 112
Dumont, *Cupid Complaining to
Venus over a Beesting*, 1797,
terracotta. Private collection



terracotta in his sale, Paris, March 19, 1805, no. 28; perhaps to be identified with "a rough sketch in terracotta," "Nymph seated on a rock, beside her a grazing goat," sale, Paris, coll. Baron Roger, December 20, 1841, no. 161; Paul Cailleux (1884–1964); his gift, 1934

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1934, no. 144; Duisburg, Karlsruhe, Gotha, and Paris 1989–90, no. 41, ill.

REFERENCES

Pascal 1904, pp. 53, 149; Vitry 1934, p. 76, ill.; Réau 1936, p. 21, fig. 16; Worley 1988, p. 194, no. 28d, ill.; Leroy-Jay Lemaistre 1992, pp. 43–44, ill.; Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 2, p. 446, ill.

In 1784, using his personal means, Louis XVI acquired the Rambouillet estate, one of the most important hunting grounds in the Île de France. Eager to please his queen, Marie-Antoinette, who was not fond of the château, he decided to offer her a pavilion, known as the Queen's Dairy, where she could enjoy the pleasures of rustic life, as in the Trianon at Versailles. The project was designed by Hubert Robert and the architect Thévenin and paid for by the Bâtiments du Roi. The structure, preceded by two reception wings, is a small temple built in sandstone, with thick walls to keep dairy products cool and without windows (lighting is from the top). The first room (altered by Napoleon) was a rotunda with a pool in the center. An Etruscan-style porcelain service commissioned from the Sèvres manufactory was arranged on consoles along the wall. The furnishings included a mahogany suite designed by Robert and made by Jacob. The second room, a long hall, ends in a spectacular grotto of artificial rocks with a running stream. The two rooms were decorated with sculptures entrusted to Pierre Julien. In collaboration with Dejoux and Foucou, Julien realized an exceptional ensemble of marble reliefs, now in a private collection except for a round plaque above the exterior entrance (*Cow Suckling Its Calf*; see Baillio 2002). On the rotunda wall were four medallions representing young women occupied in agricultural tasks;

PIERRE JULIEN

Saint-Paulien, 1731–Paris, 1804

Young Woman with a Goat, or Amalthea

Terracotta, 25 × 13 × 13 cm (9 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)
Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Sculptures (RF 2309)

PROVENANCE

Probably listed as "the Bather" among "twenty-two very small models, one in wax, fourteen in terracotta, and seven in plaster" kept "in the cabinet" above the sculptor's studio, cour Carrée du Louvre, in the inventory taken after his death (8 Pluviôse, year XIII [January 28, 1805]; Pascal 1904, p. 149); and among the "ten figures and groups 10 to 12 *pouces* [27–32 cm (10 $\frac{3}{4}$ –12 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)] high" in



Fig. 113
Julien, *Young Woman with a Goat*, 1787, marble.
Château de Rambouillet
(Île-de-France),
on deposit from the
Musée du Louvre

in the large room there were two long reliefs (*The Infant Jupiter among the Corybantes* and *Apollo Guarding the Flocks of Admetus*) and a large medallion of a mother nursing her child. Finally, in the grotto Julien placed the *Young Woman with a Goat*, one of his most famous works, executed in sumptuous white marble (fig. 113).

Julien received this important commission in the autumn of 1785. A November 29 letter from the comte d'Angiviller told the sculptor to begin making sketches (Pascal 1904, pp. 48–51). These were fairly advanced in March 1786, and the models were finished in September. After the execution of the definitive marble works, the ensemble was inaugurated in June 1787. The artist did not receive authorization to show *Almathea* in the Salon of 1787, which opened some two months later. He had to wait until 1791. He first planned to exhibit in the Salon the “lifesize” plaster model as “a Bather” (so titled in the first edition of the *livret*; Scherf 1997, p. 57), but he succeeded in having the marble version brought from Rambouillet. He showed this as a “figure . . . accompanied by a goat” (second edition of the *livret*), a surprisingly uninformative description. In fact, the *Young Woman with a Goat* relates a story from Jupiter’s infancy, another episode from which is treated in one of the dairy’s long reliefs. The young woman undoubtedly represents Amalthea, the nymph who reared the god in secret, thus protecting him from his murderous father, Saturn: “The Naiad Amalthea, famous on the Cretan Mount Ida, is said to have hidden Jupiter in the woods. She owned a she-goat, conspicuous among the Dictaeon flocks, the fair dam of two kids; her airy horns bent over on her back; her udder was such as the nurse of Jove might have. She suckled the god” (Ovid, *Fasti* 5.115–201).

The present sketch may be that mentioned by Julien in a March 21, 1786, letter to d'Angiviller: “Sir, M. Robert must have informed you that the sketch of this figure, as well as its niche, was done. And when you have seen it and when the four round models are finished, I will begin to model the figure, if you, Sir, are pleased with the composition” (Pascal 1904, p. 53). Here the sculptor uses the word “niche” for the hollowed-out setting planned for the group (see the section drawing published by Baillio 2002, pl. 4), which was, however, remade after the works were installed (Pascal 1904, pp. 60–61). The present terracotta expresses the overall composition of the marble (the “model in plaster of the bather, a large-size figure,” mentioned in the inventory after Julien’s death, has disappeared; Pascal 1904, p. 148), although there are differences between them: in the terracotta “the figure of the nymph [is] more elongated than in the definitive work” (Vitry 1934, p. 76), and “the body is longer, the head smaller, [and] the hair is massed on top of the head, whereas in the marble version it falls in ringlets onto the shoulders” (Réau 1936, p. 21). The young woman’s modest gesture, suggesting that of the Medici Venus, is captured in the sketch, where everything is roughed out with

virtuosic lightness: her hand, which holds the animal’s leash, the position of her legs, and the turn of her head to her left. The rock on which the heroine is seated is also present in the terracotta, reduced to a simple shape. The proportions of Amalthea’s body differ from those of classical antiquity: Julien’s buxom young woman, with her ample hips and plump waist, has a tremulous sensuality—striking in both the sketch and the marble. The forms are rapidly modeled: traces of fingerprints are visible on the back. The goat’s hide is roughly suggested, with sharp strokes of the *ébauchoir* or with the knife or thumb; the animal’s shaggy skin is in delightful contrast to the young woman’s carefully smoothed skin. It is not surprising that such a captivating work was acquired by Paul Cailleux, who assembled one of the finest twentieth-century collections of terracotta sculptures, much of which is now in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne.

GS

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PHILIPPE-LAURENT ROLAND

Pont-à-Marc, Nord, 1746–Paris, 1816

Bacchante Riding a Goat

Terracotta, 39.4 × 29.2 × 22.2 cm (15½ × 11½ × 8¾ in.)
Inscribed in script, lower left front of base: *Roland F. 1796*
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1975.312.8)

PROVENANCE

Apparently sold by Roland to the bronze founder Pierre-Philippe Thomire (Roland’s receipts for the year VII [1798–99] include “Received from Citizen Thomire on account for the Bacchante 120 francs” [Fr.: “Reçu du Citoyen Thomire à compte sur la Bacchante 120f”] (see Draper 1992, p. 142); presumably the terracotta in an anonymous sale, Paris, June 29–30, 1829 (Lugt 12101), lot 50; Monsieur T., sale, Paris, Galerie Jean Charpentier, June 19, 1934, no. 66, ill. (height mistakenly given as 57 cm [22¾ in.]); Paul Gouvert, Paris; purchased by the Museum in New York with the Charles Ulrick and Josephine Bay Foundation, Inc. Gift, 1975

EXHIBITIONS

Paris, Salon of Year VI (opened July 19, 1798), no. 543; New York 1976, no. 8, ill.

REFERENCES

Washington 1991, pp. 122–23; Draper 1991–92, p. 36, ill.; Draper 1992, pp. 141–44, fig. 18

Philippe-Laurent Roland had a penchant for the S-shapes that carry through this bacchante’s arms (thus Autumn in his lost clock model, *Four Seasons in a Chariot Drawn by Lions*, shown at the same Salon of the Year VI, and Fame in his pediment for the Louvre’s Pavillon de l’Horloge, 1805; Draper 1992, pp. 142–43, fig. 20). Much the



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same sinuous arm movement is seen in a Pompeian fresco of a bacchante bullying a centaur (fig. 114). Showing the bacchante from the opposite side, the ancient vignette also contains a thyrsus, flyaway hair, and admirably achieved drapery. Other details differ, but enough is there to suppose he bore the fresco at least in the back of his mind.

For all its seeming impulsiveness, the work was meditated with remarkable concentration and thoroughness. It shows a firm grasp of geometry and a taste for surface variegation—as witness the exciting contrasts among flesh, cloth, and the goat's coarse coat. Seldom has an animal's face been more engagingly brought to life through

the canny adjustment of textures. The plant life under the goat's front legs supports its rearing movement. Surprisingly, the work elicited no critical response at the Salon.

This model circulated in the form of bronze casts including one that was retained by the sculptor's widow (Draper 1992, p. 147 n. 56). Alison Luchs theorizes that a bronze cast by Louis-François Jeannest in the National Gallery of Art could be the entry in the Salon of 1798 (Washington 1991, pp. 122–23, ill.). This is ruled out, however, by the manifest superiority of the terracotta and by the sale of the model in Year VII (1798–99) to Pierre-Philippe Thomire (Draper 1992, p. 142), by whom no casts are known, and who must in turn have sold the rights to



83 (reverse)

Jeannest, by whom at least two further casts do exist. The model's popularity survived into early modern times, when fakers saw fit to attach the "signature" of Clodion to a bronze example and of Pierre Julien to an indistinctly bloated marble one (Cassel von Doorn sale, New York, Parke-Bernet, December 9–10, 1955, no. 267, ill.).

The clay was modeled on a plank of wood; the imprint of its grain is present underneath the group. The buff clay is unpatinated apart from some retouchings with buff pigment for several minor breaks. JDD



Fig. 114
Filippo Morghen, *Bacchante on a Centaur*, engraving after an ancient fresco found at Pompeii, from *Le antichità di Ercolano* (Rome, 1757–62), vol. 1, pl. 25

JOHANN HEINRICH DANNECKER

Stuttgart, 1758–Stuttgart, 1841

Ariadne on a Panther

Terracotta, 31.7 × 27.8 × 9.5 cm (12½ × 11 × 3¾ in.), mounted on slate
Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie (P 554)

PROVENANCE

Bequest of Dannecker's niece Pauline Weckherlin, née Rapp, to the Königliches Museum der bildende Künste, Stuttgart, 1886

EXHIBITIONS

Frankfurt 1979, no. 1, ill.; Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 1, no. 100, ill.; Stuttgart 1993, no. 166, ill.

REFERENCES

Donndorf 1886, p. 757; Fabriczy 1886, col. 621; Königliches Museum, Stuttgart 1897, no. 50; Spemann 1909, p. 68, App., p. 103, no. 184, p. 183, no. 54, pl. 59; Pückler-Limpurg 1929, p. 129; Baudissin 1931, no. 41; Haldenwang 1941, p. 474, ill.; Pauli 1942, p. 62; Spemann 1958, p. 14; Holst 1982, pp. 71–72, ill.; Beck 1985, p. 92, ill.; Nagel 1988, pp. 110–11, figs. 4a,b

In 1803, working without a commission, Dannecker embarked on *Ariadne on a Panther* (fig. 115), not only his most celebrated work but probably also the best known of all German Neoclassical sculptures. For all its seeming simplicity, he brought myriad pictorial allusions to bear upon the rare subject: the daughter of Minos and Pasiphae, abandoned by Theseus on the island of Naxos, riding forth on a panther toward her new husband, Bacchus. She seems part force of nature, part vamp. Generations of painters were taken with the myth and with this work's sensuality, and we find traces of it in some of the greatest, such as Anselm Feuerbach, who delighted in arranging their mood pieces around the enchantresses of antiquity.

This brilliantly pondered preliminary model is thought to date to 1803. On September 2 of that year, Dannecker's student Friedrich Distelbarth wrote from Paris to Stuttgart that he had had no luck there finding a "tiger"—presumably an antique sculpture of a panther to serve Dannecker as a guide for his heroine's mount (Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 1, no. D52). Dannecker forged ahead with the panther anyway; in a letter to a crown official dated September 9, he says it is ready for casting in plaster (Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 1, no. D53). On November 24 the painter Gottlieb Schick wrote from Rome that a mutual friend had spoken about the composition in glowing terms (Spemann 1909, App., p. 104, no. 184). In the summer of 1804 Dannecker got Schick to order a marble block from Carrara. In January of 1805 the model was praised in *Der Neue deutsche Merkur*, and in the summer of that year the Württemberg court was persuaded to relinquish its

right to acquire the marble (since he was court sculptor, his output was usually destined for the crown). Simon Moritz von Bethmann, a Frankfurt banker, examined the model about this time and eventually commissioned its execution in marble. Work on the marble commenced in 1810 and continued until 1814. Receiving the work in 1816, Bethmann built a special pavilion for it, the Ariadneum, where surrounded by plaster casts of antiquities it was the centerpiece of Frankfurt's first public art gallery and inspired countless poems and parlor reductions. The Bethmann family gave the relocated Ariadneum to the city in 1941, but it was bombed in 1943 during World War II. Broken into many fragments, the sculpture was thought to be beyond saving, but it was painstakingly reconstructed in 1977–78 and installed in the Liebieghaus (see Frankfurt 1979 and Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 1, esp. pp. 64–70, 288–94).

Even with the inevitable shifts of nuance because of mending, several differences between the model and the marble readily emerge. In the terracotta Ariadne's drapery, animated by the panther's forward movement, trails in thin fluttering curls, while the folds in the marble are statelier and thicker, revealing less of the feline's body. In the terracotta Ariadne raises her chin higher, challengingly, her coiffure is simpler, and her right arm grasps her left thigh instead of her left foot. The marble panther, which has acquired a loose halter, turns its head slightly more toward her than in the terracotta. The marble beast may be proportionally smaller in relation to Ariadne than it is in the terracotta. One of the few contemporary criticisms leveled against the marble group was that the panther seemed too small to support the heroine.

Scholars have not discovered Dannecker's prototypes except in the case of the panther. Ellen Kemp (in Frankfurt 1979, pp. 11–14) showed that Dannecker (with Distelbarth perhaps scouting for him) followed the pose of a bronze striding lioness, of a type then considered ancient but datable more likely to the sixteenth century in North Italy (Kemp's example was in a private collection; for the type, see Bode 1980, pl. CXIX). *Der Neue deutsche Merkur* of 1805 asserted that the sculptor turned not only to antiquity but also to a plate in Buffon's *Histoire naturelle* (quoted in Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 1, p. 287 n. 3), but the latter does not seem pertinent. Dannecker revisited Paris in 1806, and at the zoo he drew naturalistic details of a sleeping panther, adding the leg bones of another (Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 2, no. Z108, fols. 13, 14, ill.). Neither the model nor the marble seems greatly influenced by these researches; both treat the open-jawed animal remarkably similarly, their stylizations following the bronze statuette more than nature.

More complicated, as far as reconstructing sources is concerned, is the overall composition. Dannecker's earliest musings on the subject are seen in a drawing in which Bacchus and Ariadne ride in a cart pulled by panthers



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(fig. 116; Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 2, no. 2121, ill.). In this drawing Bacchus, with his bodily shifts in opposite directions, is of greater consequence than Ariadne for the marble; the contrariety of Ariadne's pose is its salient characteristic. Ariadne occurs more in painting than in sculpture, and her visual traditions do not include a panther. We are obliged to assume that it was lent her by Bacchus, for whom it is a not unusual attribute. Panthers very often join the playful company on bacchic sarcophagi (see Frankfurt 1979, p. 7), but Dannecker, as much as he stresses the front plane here, is overwhelmingly concerned with sculpture in the round, not relief. There is one instance of an ancient bacchante dancing beside a panther (Mansuelli 1958–61, vol. 1, no. 100). He could quite easily have remembered marbles of Bacchus

mounted on a panther, such as one that was in Florence, since destroyed (Mansuelli 1958–61, vol. 1, App., no. 6, pl. 326). Even more apt a comparison is offered by fig. 117, a marble then in the Giustiniani collections, restored in the seventeenth century to include a crown of grape leaves and a coiffure not dissimilar to Ariadne's (see Rome 2001–2, no. 25a). The *Ariadne* is perhaps best seen as the reversal of such a composition, but charged with much more energy.

Also encountered in these seated wine gods are similar inner compositional contradictions, the heads and legs aimed in opposite directions, as Ariadne's are. She has long reminded me of the heroine in Claude Lorrain's *Ariadne Abandoned*, sometimes interpreted as Ulysses revealing himself to Nausicaa but more probably rep-

FRENCH

about 1775

Stealthy Cupid

Terracotta, 38.4 × 17.8 × 15.2 cm (15½ × 7 × 6 in.)
 New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1975.312.1)

PROVENANCE

French private collection; purchased by the Museum in New York with funds from the Charles Ulrick and Josephine Bay Foundation, Inc. Gift, 1975

EXHIBITION

New York 1976, no. 4, ill.

REFERENCES

Draper 1977, pp. 146–49, figs. 6, 7; Metropolitan Museum 1987, p. 52, ill.; Worley 1988, p. 193, no. 27, ill.; Draper 1991–92, pp. 6, 33, ill.

The model is a witty takeoff of the ancient Hellenized Egyptian cult figure, Harpocrates, always shown as a baby with finger to lips in a hushing gesture (fig. 118). According to Plutarch, “Harpocrates should not be regarded simply as an imperfect and weakly god, but as the patron and teacher of the rational insight concerning the gods which is still young, imperfect and inarticulate among men. For this reason does he hold his finger fixed on his mouth, as a symbol of reserve and silence” (*Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride*, ed. and trans. J. Gwyn Griffiths [Cardiff, 1970], p. 225). Harpocrates had a long

resenting Ariadne languishing after her abandonment by Theseus and before her discovery by Bacchus (see Röthlisberger 1961, vol. 1, pp. 333–35, no. 139, vol. 2, fig. 233). Both Claude and Dannecker give her the same jutting chin and strong shift in body direction. I am uncertain of the meaning of this resemblance, for there is no panther in the Claude. Dannecker cannot have known the picture, but perhaps the way is open to a common source as yet unrecognized. The marble Ariadne’s greater confidence and the loan of the panther suggest that she is already well known to Bacchus, who is physically absent but is a vitally important silent partner in Dannecker’s one-woman show, whose nature is so permeated by cumulative allusion.

Both Kemp (in Frankfurt 1979, pp. 25–33) and Holst (in Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 1, pp. 66–70) provide a fascinating overview of the literary and specifically German cultural background that nurtured *Ariadne on a Panther*. Of particular note is a melodrama of 1803, the year of the model: Johann Gottfried Herder’s *Ariadne Libera*, in which through Bacchus’ love Ariadne is awakened from despondency to deliverance and becomes in turn an emblem of the fruition of humankind’s hopes.

The clay’s smooth undulations result from the virtuoso’s striving to imitate palpitant flesh. The buff body retains a slip with pleasing grayish and yellowish overtones. Past damages, though minor, probably dictated the addition of the slate support for stabilization.

JDD



Fig. 115
 Dannecker, *Ariadne on a Panther*, 1803–14, marble. Frankfurt, Liebieghaus-Museum alter Plastik



Fig. 116
 Dannecker, *Bacchus and Ariadne on a Chariot Pulled by Two Panthers*, before 1803, dark gray ink over graphite. Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie



Fig. 117
 Roman, *Bacchus on a Panther*, marble with 17th-century additions. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Frederick F. Thompson, 1903 (03.12.7)



afterlife in European art (see Chastel 1984). Falconet's borrowing was not lost on our artist, who ignores the grave essence of the god and transforms him into a Cupid sailing through the night with his torch and hoping that his landing will be soft enough to pass unnoticed. Having dropped on earth a scroll-like object, perhaps a love letter, with a wreath of roses borrowed from his mother Venus, he will soon take off again, lifted by clouds and a sail of drapery charmingly attached by little armbands.

The surface of the golden-buff clay is worked all over with great élan and variety, including scraping, stippling, and fingerprints, as well as the impress of cloth left on the piece between modeling sessions. At the time of the purchase and thereafter, I believed that this extraordinary thoroughness indicated Pierre Julien as author and specifically that it was to be identified as his entry in the Salon of 1785 ("Silent Cupid. Sketch, terracotta," *livret*, Salon of 1785, no. 224). Michael Preston Worley concurred, but twenty-five years later I am less sure. It was a trait of Julien's to finish his marbles with something like maniacal zeal, but his only terracotta attacked as strenuously as this is his "Vestal" bust (our cat. no. 128), which originated more than a decade earlier and already shows the langorous, voluptuous way with drapery that was the trademark of most of his marbles. In any case, a viable candidate for the Salon entry exists: a genrefied study of a wingless youth urging discretion on the messenger of love (fig. 120; Paris 1973a, no. 75; Worley 1988, p. 199, no. 43). It agrees with the freer style of models sure to be by Julien, the *Amalthea* (cat. no. 78), the *Poussin* (cat. no. 107), the *Adolescent Cupid Raising His Blindfold* (cat. no. 82), and the *Echo and Hygieia* in Le Puy (Worley 1988, pp. 198, 199, nos. 35, 41a, ill.; the surfaces of the last two are sadly abraded). Whoever the artist, the highly

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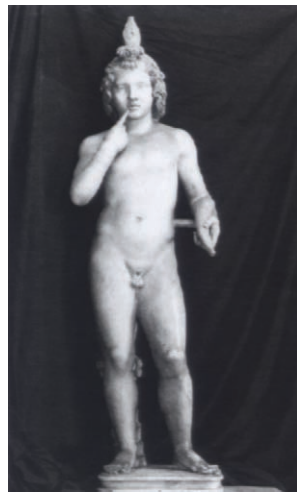


Fig. 118
Roman, *Harpocrates*,
marble. Rome,
Musei Capitolini



Fig. 119
Falconet, *Menacing Cupid*, Salon of 1757,
marble. Paris, Musée du Louvre



Fig. 120
Julien, *Silent Cupid*, or *Cupid Urging Discretion in Love*, 1785(?), terracotta.
Bayonne, Musée Bonnat

individualistic manner he practiced here should one day cause him to be recognized. Perhaps we have overlooked more decorative modelers such as Louis-Simon Boizot. His sketching style is barely known (see cat. no. 19), but the present work's gliding movement and bobbed hair have suggestive affinities to Boizot's *morceau de réception*, his *Meleager* of 1771–78 (Paris, Louvre; see Versailles 2001–2, no. 3, ill.). That dating, some years before full-bodied Cupids of this sort began to fall from favor in the late 1780s, suits our little fellow. JDD

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PIERRE JULIEN

Saint-Paulien, 1731–Paris, 1804

Cupid Raising His Blindfold to Take Aim

Terracotta, 35 × 22 × 16 cm (13¾ × 8⅞ × 6¼ in.)
Bayonne, Musée Bonnat (CM 400/10)

PROVENANCE

Sale, Paris, [Detaillé, Father Procurator of the order of Celestines], February 16, 1818, no. 45 ("Cupid ready to shoot an arrow," twelve *pouces*); Paul Cailleux (1884–1964), before 1932; by descent to his children; acquired from them, 1983

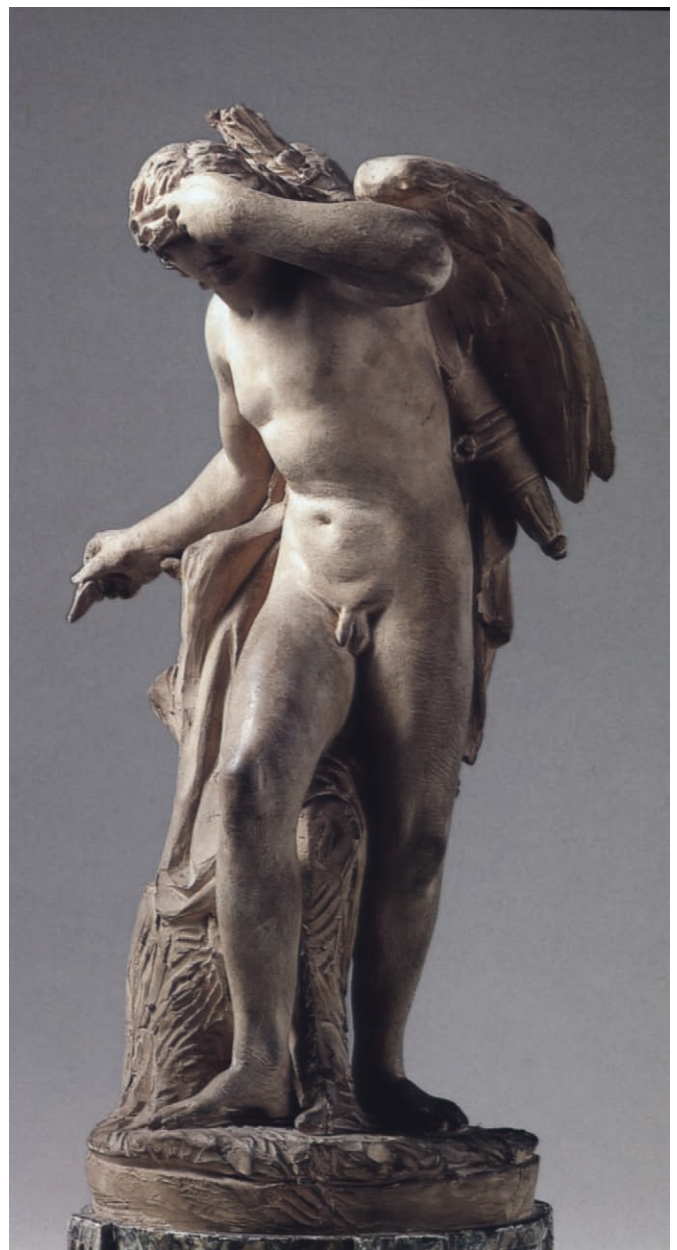
EXHIBITIONS

Paris, Salon of 1795, no. 1044 ("The adolescent Cupid raising his blindfold to take aim at the one at whom he is shooting his arrow"); Paris 1932, no. 43; Paris 1934, no. 143; Copenhagen 1935, no. 631; Paris 1973a, no. 76, ill.; Paris 1985–86, no. 86, ill.

REFERENCES

Pascal 1904, pp. 86–88; Lami 1910–11, vol. 1, p. 15; Réau 1936, p. 22, fig. 12; Fleming 1957, p. 7, fig. 10; *FRAM* 1985, p. 121, no. 519, ill.; Worley 1988, p. 198, no. 36a; Champion 1998, p. 256, no. 537, ill.

In the Salon of 1795 Pierre Julien exhibited a lifesize *Maternal Tenderness* ("a woman who gives a child something to drink from a vase she is holding," as Polyscope explained in his fifth letter on the works exhibited in the Salon in *La Décade philosophique*, year IV [1795], vol. 7, p. 586) and four sketches "one *piéd* high [32.5 cm (12¾ in.)]," among them "The adolescent Cupid raising his blindfold to take aim at the one at whom he is shooting his arrow" (the present terracotta) and "Narcissus gazing at himself in the water." Both recur in the sale [Detaillé] of 1818: "Echo rebuffed by Narcissus, retreating ashamed and confused, but slowly, in the hope that Narcissus will be touched by her love" (fig. 121); and "Charity represented by a woman who gives children the breast and something to drink." Although several models called "Maternity" and "Narcissus" are mentioned in the inventory taken after the sculptor's death, they are not



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Fig. 121
Julien, *Echo Rebuffed by Narcissus, Retreating Ashamed and Confused, but Slowly, in the Hope that Narcissus Will Be Touched by Her Love*, 1795, terracotta. Le Puy (Haute-Loire), Musée Crozatier

known. It is evident from this that in 1795, the year in which he entered the Institut, Julien, like other contemporary sculptors (among them Clodion, Marin, and Pajou), was gracefully treating lightweight subjects far removed from the rigors of Revolutionary iconography. This tendency was commented on by Polyscope (nom de plume of Amaury-Duval): "I have made a singular observation: while your painters of the new school transfer into their pictures all the statues, all the groups of classical antiquity, copying them quite slavishly, our sculptors, I believe, go seeking in the pictures of the old French school for the affected attitude and grimacing expression of their figures. All the sculptors make their models smile. In every face we are shown, the features depart from that line of beauty sanctioned by taste and by the Greeks" (*La Décade philosophique*, year IV [1795], vol. 7; quoted by Pascal 1904, p. 88).

Those practicing this "art of détente," which marked the final years of the century, chose agreeable subjects from classical antiquity, realized with great refinement and attention to detail. It was indeed vital to please a clientele that was eager to forget the years of the Terror and to live in a lighthearted, sophisticated atmosphere.

Julien's Cupid with a blindfold was a theme with a long history of representations. The blindfold indicating the blindness of earthly love is mentioned in antiquity (Theocritus), and the distinction between Cupid blinded and clear-sighted was commented on especially in the Renaissance: *Platonic Cupid*, an engraving illustrating a book by Bocchius (Bologna, 1555), shows the adolescent god armed with two torches putting to flight a small Eros whose blindfold is raised above his eyes (Tervarent 1997, pp. 62–63, fig. 12). Poussin drew Cupid standing on a horse and armed with an arrow, his blindfold raised above his eyes (Windsor Castle, the Royal Collection), and Tiepolo painted him driving his chariot blindfolded (ceiling of a bedroom in the Villa Valmarana, Vicenza).

The mythological world was familiar to the French public, who encountered it in novels as well as at the opera and who appreciated its frequently lighthearted, dreamlike, and timeless quality. Julien was in harmony with the learned amateurs of his day. His winged, adolescent Cupid, bearing his quiver and holding an arrow, is easily recognizable, even if the gesture of his left hand may not be legible at first glance. The playlet is an amusing one: Cupid needs his eyesight to aim his arrow, the power of which will render his victim blind.

The statuette is finely modeled: the body seen from the front is perfectly smoothed, like the very finished terracottas of the period. The hair, the drapery, and the rock that serves as a support are more roughly worked, with large lines and regular striations, also visible on the base. On the back the wings, shaped with a knife or fine

spatula, are close to regular grooves made by a pointed tool. These refined contrasts were savored by collectors in much the same way that they appreciated a drawing's minute variations in hatching. GS

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GILLES-LAMBERT GODECHARLE

Brussels, 1750–Brussels, 1835

Cupid Waiting in Ambush

Terracotta, 22.8 × 7 × 8 cm (9 × 2¾ × 3¼ in.); on white and gray marble socle

Inscribed on the self-base: *Godecharle f. en 1807*

The Cleveland Museum of Art (1977.72)

PROVENANCE

Joseph Henry Fitzhenry, sale, Paris, Drouot, February 18–21, 1914, no. 499, ill. (date given as 1807); bought by Lemay; Marius Paulme, sale, Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, May 15, 1929, no. 320, ill.; sale, Paris, Palais Galliera, December 6, 1972, no. 49, ill.; acquired with the Andrew R. and Martha Jennings Fund, 1977

REFERENCE

"Year in Review" 1978, pp. 17, 38, no. 9

This is the maquette for a figure in limestone (*pierre de Beauchain*), one meter high, which was lent to the Salon of Ghent in 1808 by Jean-Baptiste Pisson, an architect in that city, as "Cupid Disguised, Hiding under a Veil" (Devigne 1928, p. 119), probably the same piece seen on the London market in 1985.

The motif derives from the Marlborough Gem (fig. 122), a late Greco-Roman cameo curiosity now in Boston, which was much celebrated from the sixteenth century on. Mystifyingly depicting the nuptials of Cupid and Psyche as veiled infants, it was often replicated (by Wedgwood, for example) and sometimes parodied by Neoclassical artists. Cupid and Psyche are identifiable in the gem huddling under their veils because their wings poke through. Gilles-Lambert Godecharle excerpts just one figure to represent Love traipsing daintily on rose blossoms and waiting in ambush, about to draw an arrow and fire it at some unsuspecting party.

The pale clay, pinkish but with a slightly yellowish cast, is worked with the master's wonted elastic dexterity. Particularly appealing are rear and side views in which the veil is seen stretching across the wings. JDD

JOHAN TOBIAS SERGEL

Stockholm, 1740–Stockholm, 1814

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Cupid and Psyche

Terracotta, 26.3 × 16.7 × 14.5 cm (10 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)
 Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (NM Sk. 487)

PROVENANCE

Artist's estate, 1814; purchased from his heirs, 1815

EXHIBITION

Stockholm 1990, no. 224, ill.

REFERENCES

Grafström 1819, pp. 313–20; Lange 1882, pt. 2; Göthe 1898, pp. 66–71; Brising 1914a, pp. 98–105; Looström 1914, p. 14; Göthe 1921, pp. 15–17; Antonsson 1936, pp. 74–75; Antonsson 1942, pp. 198–204; Josephson 1956, vol. 1, pp. 208–17, ill.; Bjurström 1976, p. 18; Grate 1998, pp. 228–30, 233

89

Cupid and Psyche

Terracotta, 28 × 16.7 × 15 cm (11 × 6 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)
 Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (NM Sk. 488)

PROVENANCE

Artist's estate, 1814; purchased from his heirs, 1815

EXHIBITION

Stockholm 1990, no. 225, ill.

REFERENCES

See cat. no. 88 above

Few of Sergel's series are as richly documented, particularly with regard to terracottas, as that of Cupid and Psyche. The literary source was most likely *The Golden Ass* by Apuleius, which, in summary, tells that "Psyche incurred the anger of Venus, but Cupid removed her to his secret palace where he visited her constantly, but always unseen in the darkness. Psyche's sisters were jealous, and persuaded her to light a lamp and look at her lover. A drop of oil fell on the sleeping god, and he awoke and disappeared" (Lemprière 1788 [1984 ed.], p. 525). Not unexpectedly, Sergel chose the story's most dramatic moment: Cupid leaping from the bed after being burned. In pain and furious that she had broken her vow never to look on his face, he tore himself from her arms. Sergel first depicted this scene in the smaller terracotta sketch (cat. no. 88), in which Cupid is a handsome adolescent, still almost a child, and Psyche is a mature woman. He turns away from the lover he is abandoning. In a second

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87
(profile)



Fig. 122
 Greco-Roman, *The Nuptials of Cupid and Psyche*, probably 1st century A.D., layered onyx cameo, signed by Tryphon. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

terracotta sketch (cat. no. 89) Cupid turns toward Psyche with a very serious expression. Psyche is less active and seems resigned to her fate, her nakedness emphasizing her vulnerability.

It is not known when Sergel began work on the subject, but circumstances point to the early 1770s. His own copy of Apuleius was a French translation, published in 1769. And after Louis XV died in May 1774, the sculptor wrote that "the Cupid and Psyche was intended for Mme Dubarry. The death of Louis XV has delayed the project" (Bjurstöm 1975, p. 98). Sergel thus had probably finished the large model (fig. 123; Stockholm 1990, no. 226, ill.) before the king's death.

The prototype for Psyche was an Italian Mannerist drawing, depicting a kneeling woman, from Sergel's own collection. Much later he described the changes to this motif. He told two French visitors in Stockholm that he "first thought of having Cupid turn his face away as he thrust Psyche from him; this would have been the easier course. He had not, however, anticipated the difficulties of rendering Cupid's expression as he gazed on Psyche. Sergel quite rightly preferred the second attitude. Cupid looks at Psyche coldly and casts her away with the calm disdain befitting a severe god" (Fortia de Piles and Mar-seilles 1796, vol. 2, p. 122).

This "calm disdain" retains little of the original mood. There is no complicated emotional play, despite the concern Sergel expressed to his French visitors. It seems likely that, following the spirit of Winckelmann's strictures, Sergel was searching for *edle Einfalt und stille Grösse* ("noble simplicity and quiet grandeur"; see Dresdner 1921, p. 26, citing a journal by the German painter Johann Christian Mannlich; Sergel met Winckelmann in Rome; there is, however, no evidence that Sergel was directly influenced by him). Individual features have been reduced or transformed into universal concepts. The finished marble (signed and dated 1787; Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, inv. NM Sk. 359; Stockholm 1990, no. 232, ill.), the end result of a long process that included three works in terracotta, is certainly one of Sergel's most masterly works but perhaps is also one of his least personal.

Louis XV died before commissioning the marble version of Cupid and Psyche. Fate, however, would have it otherwise, and his failure to receive this royal commission, together with other losses of a personal nature, triggered the serious mental crisis that Sergel suffered in Rome. Despite the success that the *Faun* had brought him, Sergel was more and more afflicted by melancholy. His despondency appears to have been at its worst in early spring 1776. A rumor had started, probably passed on by a Swedish traveler to Rome, that Sergel's pension from the Swedish crown had been canceled (Olausson 1990, p. 81). In connection with this, Gustaf Filip Creutz, the Swedish ambassador to Paris, wrote to Gustav III himself on April 8, 1776: "It's a shame that Sergel who is in Rome has lost his pension. Every artist considers him

the premier sculptor in Europe. Everyone who returns from Rome agrees and believes that his *Diomedes* is the most perfect example [of that hero] since antiquity. We have here a faun by him that is praised to the skies. Stripped of all help, he will have to leave Rome forever and accept Milord Shelburne's proposals which he has refused up until now" (Riksarkivet, Stockholm, Gallica, vol. 447, letter dated April 8, 1776). The letter ends on a splendid rhetorical note: "I do not know if [Sergel's] gifts are devalued through ignorance and envy, but all of Europe knows that Your Majesty esteems and protects the arts, and it would be astonishing if, during the reign of the greatest and most enlightened of our kings, an artist of such excellence were abandoned."

The rumor about the withdrawn pension proved to be false, and Creutz had to make haste to smooth things over, but the letter did help alleviate Sergel's situation. The efforts of Creutz and of Jean Eric Rehn, Sergel's former teacher who was also a friend and supporter, quickly bore fruit. Within two months the office in charge of refurbishing the Royal Palace in Stockholm commissioned the marble version of the Cupid and Psyche.

The elated Sergel wrote to Rehn: "I have a reborn hope of seeing again my native land, where my beginnings lie." Another side was seen by the Swedish traveler Jacob Jonas Björnsthål: "It will cost our Sergel dearly to leave a place he loves so much; I have often heard him fret when he thinks about it; who would not find it painful to be separated from Rome?" (Björnsthål 1780). Sergel shared his uneasiness with others. In a letter to the king dated August 29 of that same year, Creutz spoke again on the sculptor's behalf: "The other day I heard Chevalier [William] Hamilton tell M. d'Angivillier, director of the Bâtiments du Roy, that Sergel was not only the world's



Fig. 123
Sergel, *Cupid and Psyche*,
about 1774, terracotta.
Stockholm, Nationalmuseum



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greatest living sculptor but also the greatest since the time of Michelangelo. He regards his Cupid and Psyche group as a remarkable modern example of beauty of expression and purity of design. He added that in order to give himself over to the sublime and to retain his purity of taste, Sergel should spend his whole life in Rome where he could create the works that Your Majesty would order from him and would always have beautiful antique models before his eyes" (Riksarkivet, Stockholm, Gallica, vol. 447, letter dated August 29, 1776).



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Creutz's letter confirms the high opinion that important connoisseurs had of Cupid and Psyche, despite the absence at that moment of a large marble of the subject. He touched on the delicate issue of Sergel's future by allowing Hamilton to speak the truth to the king. But Sergel's life took a different turn: he returned in 1779 to Stockholm where he stayed, pursuing a distinguished career, until his death in 1814. He returned once to Rome, in 1783–84, accompanying the king on his Italian travels.

MO

JOHANN HEINRICH DANNECKER

Stuttgart, 1758–Stuttgart, 1841

Cupid and Psyche

Terracotta, H. 21.3 cm (8 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.) on a wood base (perhaps pearwood), set within a niche of the same wood measuring 35.7 × 18.2 × 8.4 cm (14 × 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Inscribed in ink on the top edge of the niche enframingent:

Dannecker fe: Roma d. 14. October. 1787

Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie (P725)

PROVENANCE

Artist's gift to his niece Mathilde Boisserée, née Rapp, on the occasion of her visit to Stuttgart following her marriage to Sulpiz Boisserée in 1828; the Cologne-born Boisserée's celebrated collection of old masters was then housed in Stuttgart; Boisserée's bequest to the Königliches Museum der bildenden Künste, Stuttgart, 1854

EXHIBITIONS

Rome 1959, no. 184; London 1972a, no. 357, pl. 69; Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 1, no. 16a, ill.; Stuttgart 1993, no. 38, ill.

REFERENCES

Königliches Museum, Stuttgart 1856, p. 25; Haakh 1863, p. xviii; Spemann 1909, pp. 23–24, App., p. 181, no. 9, pl. 17; Baudissin 1931, p. 236, no. 3; Haldenwang 1941, p. 469, ill.; Rave 1947, p. 36, ill.; Fleischhauer, Baum, and Kobell 1952, p. 29; Spemann 1958, p. 8, pl. 2; Hartmann 1977, p. 133, fig. 34; Boisserée 1978–95, vol. 2, p. 436; Hartmann and Parlasca 1979, p. 118, pl. 63, 1; Holst 1982, p. 62, ill.; Zaunschirm 1988, p. 55

As the inscription relates, Dannecker modeled this work in Rome. At twenty-nine he was well embarked on his career. Although it was not realized in stone, the model was warmly praised and helped to solidify his reputation. His admirers did not let him forget the group. On four occasions the painter Gottlieb Schick, who had followed him to Rome, urged him to get on with the carving because this was a work “worthy of your name,” and pointedly mentioning Antonio Canova's marble on the subject (see cat. no. 9), which had appeared to such acclaim (letters of 1803–5 in Spemann 1909, App., pp. 100, 101, 106, 113, nos. 181, 182, 185, 191). On his return to Stuttgart, Dannecker ordered a marble block (Spemann 1909, App., p. 94, no. 167; alluded to again in a letter of 1794 to Schiller, written in the midst of modeling the great poet's bust, Spemann 1909, App., p. 53, no. 108) but did not use it for a *Cupid and Psyche*.

The present model was preceded by an outline drawing in Stuttgart (Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 2, no. 221) and was refined in a second drawing, dated 1788, in Ludwigsburg (fig. 124; Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 2, no. 222). In both drawings the wings of the figures are prominent. The clay wings must have been broken off during the placement of the group in the wood niche (the stump of one wing can be glimpsed on Cupid's proper right shoulder). The

inscription probably originally appeared on the back of the group, but knowing it would be covered by the wood, he transferred it to the top of the niche. The niche idea came into play when the group was considered for the embellishment of the grand Oval Room in the Residenzschloss in Stuttgart (fig. 125; see Holst in Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 1, p. 135 n. 6).

The antique prototype has long been understood to be the marble *Cupid and Psyche* in the Capitoline (fig. 126; Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 189–91, no. 26, fig. 98). Dannecker's girl is more modestly dressed: her chiton seems to have inadvertently slipped down in her trancelike state. Veronika Mertens (in Stuttgart 1993, p. 109) spotted her derivation from the *Farnese Flora* in Naples in the semiexposed bosom and the dainty skirt-gathering gesture. The *Flora* also inspired the overall finesse of the drapery (see Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 217–19, no. 41, fig. 113).

The Capitoline group supplied the motif of the kiss exchanged by the adolescent lovers, which Dannecker renders far more delicately than the ancient sculptor did. His Cupid escorts Psyche protectively, one hand on her shoulder. There seems to be no narrative content, but perhaps Dannecker imagined them about to be united eternally on high by the will of Jupiter as in the *Golden Ass* of Apuleius (4.23). The lovers' delirious stroll may also perpetuate the motif on an ancient lamp known to Jacques-Louis David and others from the pages of Montfaucon (fig. 127; Montfaucon 1722, vol. 2, pl. 161; Rosenberg and Prat 2002, vol. 1, no. 532).

Dannecker had fashioned his *Cupid and Psyche* at the same time that Canova was getting to work on his (cat. no. 9). There are telling differences in their handling



Fig. 124
Dannecker, *Cupid and Psyche*, 1788,
graphite and black chalk.
Ludwigsburg (Baden-Württemberg),
Städtisches Museum

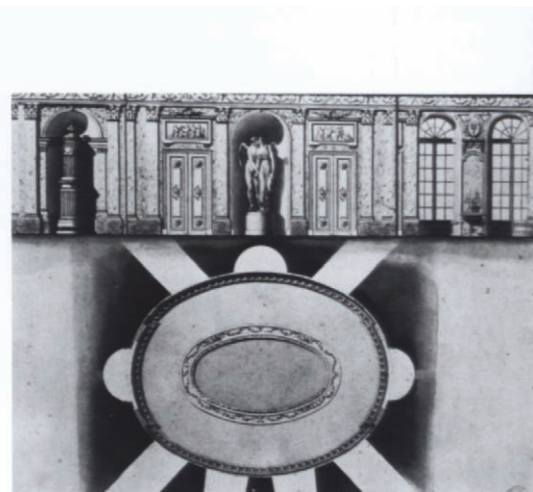


Fig. 125
Reinhold Ferdinand Heinrich Fischer, project for the
Oval Room of the Residenzschloss, Stuttgart, ink and
wash. Stuttgart, Universitätsbibliothek



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of this scene: Canova presents a corporeal act of love, while Dannecker memorializes the psychic state of being in love, veritably lovesick. Canova would come closer to Dannecker in his later standing group (Villa La Grange, Geneva, 1789–94; Pavanello 1976, p. 98, no. 69, ill.), but although they were acquainted, there is no reason to suppose he knew Dannecker's model.

The honey-buff clay was worked all over with fine flecks of the spatula. JDD



Fig. 126
Roman copy of
a Greek original,
Cupid and Psyche,
marble. Rome,
Musei Capitolini



Fig. 127
Jacques-Louis David,
Cupid and Psyche,
1775–80, black chalk.
Stockholm,
Nationalmuseum



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JOHAN TOBIAS SERGEL

Stockholm, 1740–Stockholm, 1814

Mercury and Psyche

Terracotta, 43.2 × 25.5 × 20.3 cm (17 × 10 × 8 in.)
Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (NM Sk. 1561)

PROVENANCE

Acquired by Count Fredrik Adolf Ulrik Cronstedt, Rome, 1772;
his nephew, Count Carl Adolf Cronstedt, 1829; his brother, Count
Wilhelm August Cronstedt, 1842; his widow, Countess Anna Ulrika

Matilda Cronstedt, née Rothlieb, 1874; her son, Count Fredrik
Wilhelm Cronstedt, 1885; his son, Carl Fredrik Wilhelm Cronstedt,
1927; his son, Count Carl Vilhelm Cronstedt, 1938; purchase and
gift of Karl Herbert Edlund, director of the Nationalmuseum, 1948

EXHIBITION

Stockholm 1990, p. 218, ill.

REFERENCES

Grafström 1819, p. 326; Göthe 1898, pp. 76, 242, 308; Göthe 1911,
p. 456; Brising 1914a, p. 94; Brising 1914b, pp. 49–51; Göthe 1921,
p. 12; Antonsson 1942, pp. 195–97; Strömbom 1947–48, p. 145;
Josephson 1956, vol. 1, pp. 205–8, ill.; Lindwall 1964, p. 86

The terracotta *Mercury and Psyche*, or *Mercury Leading
Psyche to Olympus*, could perhaps be seen as a sort of

addendum to the Cupid and Psyche series. It appears that Sergel worked on two parallel episodes of the story of Psyche for a period of time. In the present work Psyche, after having endured much pain and sorrow but now under Jupiter's protection, is brought by Mercury, the gods' messenger, to Olympus, to marry Cupid. The elegant and graceful figures of Mercury and Psyche are Rococo in feeling and have little dramatic urgency. One notes also a certain dependency on Sergel's part with regard to Mannerism, somewhat at odds with the anatomical sense and the proportions of the antique. Sergel's attachment to Mannerism had dulled his sense of antique anatomy and proportion. Mercury, tall and slender, conceived with taste and refinement, reflects a resolutely anticlassic impress. Like many of Sergel's other works from the early 1770s, *Mercury and Psyche* has distinct anterior and posterior sides. The posterior, with its mélange of tree trunk and fabric from Psyche's costume, posed a difficult question to resolve. Also the hardly natural way in which Mercury bends back his left arm, seeking Psyche's left, does not seem altogether well managed. The play of emotions remains controlled and restrained by contrast with Sergel's more dramatic manner of a few years later.

Dating *Mercury and Psyche* is almost as problematic as dating the groups of Cupid and Psyche (cat. nos. 88, 89). It could be regarded as a preparation for a monumental group, but there is no evidence of such a work. The terracotta must have been completed by summer 1772, when Count Cronstedt, the intendant of the Swedish court, returned home with it and several other of the sculptor's works which he had acquired. His statement in a letter to his father—Sergel "is busy with a Group in *terre cuite* that will be the first of his Roman works to come to Sweden"—has been taken to refer to the present work, but this reading is not certain. Sergel's sale of precisely this work to the young count is disconcerting: he may have decided against creating a larger version, or he may have planned to make a larger version on his return to Sweden. There its publicity value would certainly have been important, because the young count's father was Sergel's patron, the intendant and architect Carl Johan Cronstedt, and of course the younger Cronstedt could intervene in his favor.

The impression that the group of Mercury and Psyche was no longer of pressing interest to Sergel in Italy is reinforced by the fact that the young count had been authorized also to acquire a study for a head after the Capitoline *Antinous* (Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 143–44, no. 5, fig. 74). Entitled *Ideal Head* (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, NM Sk. 1469; Stockholm 1990, no. 230, ill.), that work seems to have had no other destiny than to serve as the model for Mercury's face.

For many decades the group was known only through a copy of the 1780s by Sergel's student Georg Mikael Metzger, which was part of the government purchase

from Sergel's estate in 1815 (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, NM Sk. 492; Göthe 1898, pp. 242, 308), but the existence of this work and other Sergel terracottas in the Cronstedt collection at Fullerö finally became known only in 1910 (Wählin 1910, p. 8). MO

JOHAN TOBIAS SERGEL

Stockholm, 1740–Stockholm, 1814

Jupiter and Juno

Terracotta, 43 × 34 × 29 cm (16⅞ × 13⅜ × 11⅜ in.)
Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (NM Sk. 489)

PROVENANCE

Artist's estate, 1814; purchase from his heirs, 1815

EXHIBITIONS

Amsterdam 1961, no. 78; Stockholm 1990, no. 194, ill.

REFERENCES

Grafström 1819, p. 326; Lange 1882, pt. 2; Göthe 1898, p. 76; Brising 1914a, p. 96; Brising 1914b, p. 71; Göthe 1921, p. 44; Antonsson 1942, pp. 212–13; Josephson 1956, vol. 1, pp. 131–38, ill.; Pressly 1981, p. 38

Among Sergel's surviving terracottas of mythological lovers, there are two that were especially influenced by his studies of Raphael and Annibale Carracci: the present *Jupiter and Juno* and *Venus and Anchises* (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, NM Sk. 491; Stockholm 1990, no. 196, ill.). Sergel remarked that "In 1770 I drew after Raphael and Annibale Carracci" (Sergel, autobiography, cited in Bjurström 1975, p. 97). In fact, in the summer of 1769 Sergel had begun an intensive study of these and other Renaissance masters, because he admired their ability to merge the canons of the antique with nature. In compositions such as *Jupiter and Juno*, he incorporated elements from these artists, as well as relying on illustrations from *Tableaux tirés de l'Iliade, de l'Odyssée d'Homère et de l'Eneide de Virgile* (Pictures Taken from the Iliad and the Odyssey by Homer and from the Aeneid by Virgil) by the comte de Caylus (Paris, 1757). Sergel's drawings explored a number of different ways of presenting the gods' tryst on Mount Ida. In the terracotta version Jupiter pulls Juno to him, having planted her between his thighs, and gazes on her with desire and tenderness. This final composition appears logical and unforced, while in the drawings leading up to it, Sergel grappled with a more rigid and purely frontal idea (fig. 128). A relief-like quality persists in the terracotta version, but the draperies add expressive movement to the gods' imposing bodies. In Sergel's sculpture oeuvre, this group is exceptional in one regard: it is composed of

three characters. Beyond the two divinities thirsty for love, we find Jupiter's eagle jealously watching Juno. There is no equivalent for this presence, contributing dynamism and movement to the whole, in other works by the Swede, who usually contented himself with two participants as incarnations of the fundamental states of movement and repose.

Differing dates have been proposed for *Jupiter and Juno*. Ragnar Josephson, who described the work with great insight, thought the terracotta followed soon after the early drawings of 1769–70. Stylistic elements,

however, argue for advancing that date. In addition, Oscar Antonsson pointed out that Sergel's boon companion, the painter Julien de Parme, had a great success in 1772 with a picture representing Jupiter and Juno (fig. 129; the painting is lost but is known from an engraving; see Rancate and Mamiano di Traversetolo 1999–2000, no. 34, ill.). The sculptor mentions this painting in a letter of August 1772, and Julien's composition may have caused him to take up the motif again. For this variety of reasons, it seems likely that the present terracotta was created in 1772–73. MO



Fig. 128
Sergel, *Jupiter and Juno*, red chalk.
Stockholm, Nationalmuseum



Fig. 129
After Julien de Parme, *Jupiter Asleep in Juno's Arms*, engraving by Guillaume-Philippe Benoist, 1779. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum



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FRENCH

ca. 1790–1810

Mercury and Herse

Terracotta, 24 × 24 × 18 cm (9½ × 9½ × 7¼ in.)

Inscribed on the back of the couch in a later hand after firing:

CLODION

Philadelphia, private collection

PROVENANCE

G. Mallet, sale, Paris, Drouot, May 18, 1898, no. 39 (as attributed to Clodion, although “signed,” and as Mercury embracing a sleeping girl); marquis de Biron, sale, Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, June 9–11, 1914, ill. (as Clodion, representing Mercury and Dryope); acquired in New York

REFERENCE

Scherf 1993a, pp. 338–40

Guilhem Scherf dispensed with the Clodion attribution and the older identifications of the subject, proposing

quite rightly Mercury (identifiable because of his winged helmet and ankles) appearing at the couch of Herse. The god had been thwarted in his love for this daughter of King Cecrops of Athens by her jealous sister Aglauros. At the threshold of Herse’s bedroom, Mercury turned Aglauros into stone (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 2.724–832). Ovid does not mention the following episode, the union of Mercury and Herse, but the artist delights in imagining it, adding a little Cupid to help the eager god undo the princess’s massive draperies. Her pose reverses that of a then-famous Vatican marble, the *Cleopatra* also known variously as Ariadne, Dido, or a nymph (Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 184–87, no. 24, fig. 96).

The supple interplay of the pair’s legs, one of Mercury’s propped on a “Greco-Roman” stool, gives the composition zest. It is probably these extravagantly long, prehensile limbs that will one day allow the modeler to be identified. Scherf was somewhat reminded of the Swedish sculptor Johan Tobias Sergel. The stretching legs remind me instead of Jean-Guillaume Moitte and especially his sketch of about 1787 for *Cassini* (Bayonne, Musée Bonnat; Gramaccini 1993, vol. 2, fig. 206). Moitte did not often work clay this loosely but see his bozzetti

of 1783 for the figures on the exterior of the Hôtel de Salm-Kyrbourg, Paris (Musée de la Légion d'Honneur; Gramaccini 1993, vol. 2, figs. 92–94). In the end, the Cupid is rather insubstantial for Moitte, and the borrowing of the *Cleopatra* is perhaps too blatant for a modeler of his sensibility. In back, Mercury's shoulder blades seem studied more from the exposed muscles of an *écorché* than from a live model.

The wood point of a modeling tool was deployed with stylish economy to animate the clay, defining the couch's hangings, for example, in a few short strokes. The clay is reddish where visible beneath a buff coating.

JDD

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FRENCH

ca. 1785–90

Hercules and Alcestis

Terracotta, H. 33.5 cm (13¼ in.), Diam. of base 19 cm (7½ in.)
Paris, Musée Cognacq-Jay (J. 258)

PROVENANCE

Eugène Kraemer, sale, Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, April 28–29, 1913, vol. 1, no. 133, ill. (as atelier of Marin); Ernest Cognacq, Paris

REFERENCES

Jonas 1930, p. 70, no. 258; Musée Cognacq-Jay 1990, p. 32, ill.; O'Brien 1995, figs. 1–3

By tradition labeled “Hercules and Deianira,” this must depict instead the giant bringing Alcestis back from the dead. In *Alcestis*, the earliest extant play of Euripides (438 B.C.), Hercules, passing through Phrae, is entertained by his old friend Admetus, who has just lost Alcestis, his modest wife and mother of his children, whose goodness he has long taken for granted. Hercules leads Alcestis by the hand from the underworld and has her stand veiled before her husband until Admetus declares he will accept no substitute for his lost treasure. She then unveils and they are reunited. Here the camouflaged Alcestis, with a fearful downward glance, averts her face until Admetus utters his avowal. The viewer assumes the place of the husband in this edifying drama on the theme of fidelity. Occasionally treated by painters of earlier generations, the subject was rarely taken up in later times apart from several successful operas, notably that of Gluck (1767, revised 1776), which offers variations on the plot. Perhaps abetted by Gluck, the theme did flourish exceptionally in the arts of Austria (Vienna and Stendal 2002–3, pp. 38–40).

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Hercules is as forthright as ever, his open pose recalling that of the ancient marble *Faun with a Kid* in the Prado (Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 211–12, no. 37, fig. 109). Alcestis's draperies, which could never be taken for Grecian, are a triumph of femininity, alternately concealing and disclosing. Her fluted and fluttering head covering is particularly well managed. One imagines a perhaps conservative but well-versed modeler, working the buff-colored clay with evident gratification.

JDD



CAMILLO PACETTI

Rome, 1758–Milan, 1826

Orpheus and Eurydice

Terracotta, 30 × 27 × 19 cm (11¾ × 10⅝ × 7½ in.)

Milan, Galleria d'Arte Moderna (Civiche Raccolte d'Arte, on deposit from the Pinacoteca di Brera; 307/8)

PROVENANCE

By descent in the Pacetti family; his daughter having married the sculptor Benedetto Cacciatori (1794–1871), it passed to the Cacciatori family; gift of the sisters Felicità and Gaetanina Cacciatori to the Accademia di Belle Arti di Brera; deposited by the Pinacoteca di Brera with the Civiche Raccolte d'Arte since 1902

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1935, no. 237 (as *Apollo and Daphne*); Bregenz and Vienna 1968–69, no. 353, ill.

REFERENCES

Nicodemi and Bezzola 1938, p. 181, no. 568; Saponi 1949, p. 79; Hubert 1964, pp. 60, 254; Caramel and Pirovano 1975, vol. 3, p. 653, no. 1930, ill.

The subject was hymned by Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 10.1–64) and by opera composers from Monteverdi to Gluck. The demigod Orpheus, distraught by the death of his snakebitten wife, played his lyre and charmed Pluto into allowing him to enter the jaws of hell and restore Eurydice to life. Pluto decreed that if Orpheus looked at her before they emerged from the infernal regions, he would lose her forever. Orpheus would tragically forget his promise, but Pacetti shows him still facing resolutely away as he wrenches his beloved past hell and its tongues of flame.

Poor reproductions, in which the diagonal working of the clay is coarsely accentuated, give the piece a wild Romantic look. In reality, the workmanship is indeed vigorous but quite tenderly deft. Herbert is right to suppose this is an early work, made in Rome probably near the time of Pacetti's first studies and later taken along when he moved to Milan (1805). His stance in *Orpheus and Eurydice* is determinedly Late Baroque, as in his entry for the Concorso Clementino in 1775, a relief of Judith Showing the Head of Holofernes to the People, which was bestowed grudgingly second prize (Accademia di San Luca, Rome; see Cipriani in Philadelphia and Houston 2000, p. 272, and no. 144, ill.). Sure signs of a greater commitment to Neoclassical canons appear with another group, *Perseus and Andromeda*, also in the Galleria d'Arte Moderna, Milan, which Cipriani believes must be the bozzetto toward Pacetti's trial piece for the Concorso Balestra of 1786 (Philadelphia and Houston 2000, p. 272; see also Caramel and Pirovano 1975, vol. 3, p. 653, no. 1928). Pacetti was the runner-up, behind



94 (profile)



Fig. 130
Agostino Carracci, *Orpheus and Eurydice*, about 1590–95, engraving.
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Henry Walters, 1917 (17.37.170)

95

Joseph Chinard, who placed first with cat. no. 35, but ahead of Wilhelm von Schadow, who came in third (see cat. nos. 34–36). Pacetti would openly, perhaps nostalgically, quote Chinard's great model in his *Apollo Supporting the Dying Hyacinth*, which has the longer, looser, wetter look typical of the terracottas of his Milanese

period (Galleria d'Arte Moderna, Milan; Caramel and Pirovano 1975, vol. 3, p. 653, no. 1936, ill.).

In *Orpheus and Eurydice*, to be dated about 1775–80, commentators observe a nearly combustible Baroque nature; its evocation of such works as Gian Lorenzo Bernini's *Apollo and Daphne* is what probably led the



95 (reverse)

author of the Paris 1935 exhibition entry to mistitle it. Only the subject is classical. Its precise visual source is Early Baroque: Agostino Carracci's influential engraving from the *Lascivie* series (fig. 130). Pacetti reverses the image, extends the limbs to full length, and corrects the fallen viol to a lyre at Orpheus's side.

The back, with its curling flames and evocation of the cavern's molten rockery, is a fine demonstration of eking maximum expressiveness from mere links and dabs of clay, tannish in this case. A bronze cast taken from this model in 1932 is also in the Galleria d'Arte Moderna.

JDD

Heroes and Heroism

By now readers will have discovered that hero worship was rampant in the age of Neoclassicism.¹ The growth of a well-informed audience avid for minute details of Greco-Roman archaeology, history, and mythology encouraged artists to undertake ever more sophisticated investigations of the lore of ancient warriors. Their virtue, courage, and self-sacrifice were expressed in the Neoclassical concept of the hero.

This section is dominated by the pan-European rediscovery of the *Iliad* between about 1750 and about 1825. Prior generations had taken occasional motifs from that epic, but they had generally preferred the *Odyssey* because it was thought to enunciate the same moral values that were later celebrated in such Latin classics as the *Aeneid* and Plutarch's *Lives*. The bloody strife of the *Iliad*, however, grew less distasteful to a Europe increasingly inured to the horrors of war. Dora Wiebenson, in her study of the revival of the *Iliad*, detected three stages in the appropriation of Homeric themes.² In the first, especially before 1700, artists emphasized the epic's didactic and allegorical content. Between 1700 and 1750, subjects were chosen for lively narrative-pictorial qualities that could frame actions much like scenographic backdrops. In about 1750, stimulated by archaeological advances, sculptors started to visualize specific characters and scenes with the greatest possible verisimilitude. The heroes' moods and physiognomies as well as their weaponry came under new scrutiny.

Achilles, bravest of the Greeks, was the hero par excellence. His strong will is evident in the single-figure representation (cat. no. 97) by Banks, who made Achilles themes his specialty; Schadow (cat. no. 98) presents Achilles in a more conflicted, contemplative mood.

The patron's choice of hero often had political implications, most evident in France with its distinct demarcations of rule. The ancien régime, for example,

prized exemplars of loyalty and piety. The Convention and the Directoire exalted the ancient Roman republicans for their stoicism and promotion of the commonweal. The Empire favored Alexander the Great and episodes from Roman imperial history. And Homer's gritty victors remained popular under all rulers, reflecting the public's constant taste for military glory.

Two gods may seem misplaced in this part's heroic company. In fact, Mercury (cat. no. 101) was known for his bravery as well as his cleverness, and Mars (cat. no. 100) belongs here because the god of war was the instigator of battle and the embodiment of strength, resistance, and dominance.

The last works in this section illustrate somewhat borderline forms of heroism. It was difficult to determine where to place the demimondaine *Phryne* by Chinard (cat. no. 102) and the glorious Grecian couples by Schadow (cat. nos. 103, 104). Finally, we decided that *Phryne* should be included because of a certain gutsy intrepidity in her defiance of the Areopagus, the highest Athenian judicial court. And if the Schadow statuettes do indeed represent *Phryne* being admired by the sculptor Praxiteles, Praxiteles can be construed as a hero, at least professionally, because of his conquest of form and because he was the ideal of so many Neoclassical sculptors. As for the doomed rescuer in the groups by Clodion (cat. nos. 107, 108), he may have begun life as Ajax or some such antique soldier, but he emerges as a Greek-inflected everyman incapable of controlling destiny, very much in the Romantic spirit newly at work at the turn of the nineteenth century.

JDD

1. The trends have been most closely analyzed in painting. See, for example, Cologne, Zurich, and Lyon 1987–88.

2. Wiebenson 1964.



96

JOHAN TOBIAS SERGEL

Stockholm, 1740–Stockholm, 1814

Achilles on the Strand

Terracotta, 32 × 53.5 × 27.5 cm (12 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 21 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 10 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)
Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (NM Sk. 494)

PROVENANCE

Artist's estate, 1814; purchased from his heirs, 1815

EXHIBITIONS

Stockholm 1990, no. 200, ill.; Philadelphia and Houston 2000, no. 156, ill.

REFERENCES

Grafström 1819, p. 326; Göthe 1898, pp. 98, 103; Brising 1914a, p. 107; Brising 1914b, p. 75; Göthe 1921, p. 47; Antonsson 1936, p. 89; Antonsson 1942, pp. 191–93; Josephson 1956, vol. 1, pp. 224–34, ill.; Skovgaard 1961, p. 13; Grate 1998, p. 235

In the mid-1770s Sergel began to use new expressive methods in his drawings and his sculptures. His graphic work became sketchier and more concise and looked

almost flung onto the paper. He emphasized the contrast between light and dark, often by excluding intermediate gray tones. His sculptures no longer showed his familiar balanced forms and well-polished surfaces. This greater material boldness was matched by a heightened intensity of content. The present work's strong emotional import, so filled with grief and despair, echoes the sculptor's own chronic melancholy to an autobiographical extent, but the traces of two contemporary painters, the Dane Abildgaard and the Swiss Füssli, are also to be found in it. The troubled mood of Sergel's work owed much to these two personalities, his brothers in thought. His compatriot Louis Masreliez astutely remarked: "It seems to me as though our modern sculptors are becoming too like painters" (Moselius 1934, p. 24). He regarded this as a negative tendency, but it is a fair description of Sergel's new artistic ideals.

During the whole of 1775 Sergel attempted to represent in the round themes that Abildgaard depicted in paintings, notably mythological figures such as Philoctetes and Achilles. Sergel most certainly created several terracottas with similar subjects, including the now-lost *Achilles Comforted by a Handmaid* (in an ink study for this work Sergel drew the base on which the figures would rest

[Josephson 1956, vol. 1, p. 231, fig. 324]). This terracotta appears to have been one of the works that Sergel left in Paris, for reasons unknown, when he returned to Sweden in 1779. The present work, also called *Achilles' Anger at the Loss of Briseis* and *Achilles' Grief at the Death of Patroclus*, is the only surviving terracotta from that group of works.

The *Iliad* recounts that Achilles, devastated by the loss of Briseis, summoned his mother, the sea nymph Thetis, from the ocean's depths. In the present terracotta the hero, racked by violent fury, lies on the strand. His agony is expressed in his whirling hair, open mouth, and wild glance but most poignantly by his outstretched arms and spread fingers. This suffering figure testifies to the sculptor's close study of, among others, the Belvedere Torso (Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 311–14, no. 80, fig. 165) and the works of Michelangelo, sources he had in common with Abildgaard. Achilles' feet and now-damaged hands show the same tendency toward exaggerated and disproportionate extremities as is evident in the final work from his years of study abroad, the large terracotta of *Othryades* (cat. no. 18). We must therefore consider whether his painterly mannerism—evident in the shore, the shield, and the drapery—is simply a style indigenous to a terracotta sketch or whether it is in fact a conscious artistic choice. In any case the result is a work that values drama and expression over bodily perfection.

MO

THOMAS BANKS

London, 1735–London, 1805

Achilles Arming

Terracotta, 41 × 20 × 16.5 cm (16½ × 7⅞ × 6½ in.)
Montargis, Musée Girodet (885.60)

PROVENANCE

Family of the artist; bequest of Edward Lee-Childe to the museum

REFERENCES

Scherf in Paris 1994a, pp. 105–6, ill.; Bellenger 1996, p. 186, ill.;
Champion 1998, p. 244, ill.; Bilbey 2002, p. 47

With John Flaxman, Banks was one of the great luminaries of English sculpture, lavishing an irreproachable lapidary talent on classical subject matter with rigor and originality. A tireless worker, he was “a martyr in the cause of the grand style” (Bell 1938, p. viii). He was especially drawn to Achilles, bravest of the Greeks during the Trojan War, whose deeds were continually celebrated by an appreciative Neoclassical audience (thus the popularity of Gavin Hamilton's Achilles paintings; Müller Hofstede 1992). Two of Banks's best-known works have Achilles as subject (*Thetis and Her Nymphs Rising from the Sea to Console Achilles for the Loss of Patroclus*, marble relief, 1778; *Thetis Dipping the Infant Achilles in the River Styx*, marble group, 1789; both London, Victoria and Albert Museum; Whinney 1964, pls. 137, 138). In 1784 he exhibited a since-destroyed plaster colossus: *Achilles, Enraged for the Loss of Briseis, Retires to the Seashore and Complains to Thetis*. A ghost of its image remains in a group portrait by the Victorian painter John Partridge (*The Fine Arts Commissioners in 1846*, National Portrait Gallery, London; Bryant 1983, p. 743, figs. 15, 17). Curiously, in his oil sketch for the painting, Partridge placed



Fig. 131
Banks, *Achilles Arming*,
about 1780–90,
terracotta.
London, Victoria and
Albert Museum



No episode corresponds precisely with that chosen by Banks. To keep him from going to the Trojan War where she knew he would perish, Thetis, Achilles' mother, disguised him as a girl at the court of Lycomedes. Ulysses knew that Troy could not be taken without Achilles, and posing as a merchant of jewels and arms, he went to the court to find him. When the wares were displayed, the young hero reached for the arms, thus disclosing his sex (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 13.162–67). Knowing Achilles could no longer abstain from battle and fearful of his vulnerability, Thetis commissioned Vulcan to make him an awesome garniture. Homer (*Iliad* 18.430–720) gives a renowned description of the richly wrought shield, and Greek vase painting occasionally shows the hero delighting in his helmet as well (Kossatz-Deissmann 1981, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 76, fig. 188). In the *Iliad* (19.449–52) Achilles dons the helmet after he has put on all the rest, but given the hero's resolute attitude, this passage may be taken as the point of departure for Banks.

The Victoria and Albert's model was preceded by the present one. The former has all the deeply meditated grace from every point of view that one might expect of Banks (damages caused by a thief and plaster restoration of the torso make the London model too fragile for travel). The Montargis work is more emphatically frontal and blockier, less resolved, but the precedents of one leg forward and arms raised to (missing) helmet are clear. The present model is especially interesting in back, because the quick, squarish modeling is so at variance with the artist's usual finished look in marble. Banks's terracottas are exceedingly rare, many having been eliminated by no less a figure than the distinguished sculptor Sir Francis Chantrey (who "went to the thinning and destruction of Banks's *models* with a remorseless hand," note by Allan Cunningham in Bell 1938, p. 197). However, the Victoria and Albert Museum exhibits a recumbent Dying Warrior by Banks which, viewed from the back, has precisely the same summary, rectilinear sketching of the surface as the Montargis piece (see Bilbey 2002, p. 53, no. 75, ill.).

There is a wealth of fingerprints all over the buff clay, which seems to retain some slip. Damages include cracks and the missing back of the head. A slight mound on top the base at the right may have been meant for the placement of the hero's shield.

JDD

an enlarged version of the Victoria and Albert Museum's terracotta *Achilles Arming* in the same corner (fig. 131; painting in the National Portrait Gallery; Bryant 1983, p. 743, fig. 16). The Victoria and Albert's *Achilles* (for which see Bilbey 2002, pp. 46–47, no. 68, ill.) has always been well known, but the present sketch has only recently been discovered. It had been considered a terracotta by Henri de Triqueti, whose works fill the Musée Girodet, but Banks's authorship was recognized by Scherf through its relation to the London model. The work came to be in Montargis because of the Anglophile Triqueti's marriage to Banks's granddaughter.

JOHANN GOTTFRIED SCHADOW

Berlin, 1764–Berlin, 1850

Achilles

Terracotta, 33.5 × 12 × 13 cm (13¼ × 4¾ × 5⅛ in.)

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie (G 508)

PROVENANCE

Acquired in 1888 from Eugenie Schadow, née d'Alton Rauch, Berlin

EXHIBITIONS

Berlin 1964, no. 2; Düsseldorf, Nuremberg, and Berlin 1994–95, no. 71

REFERENCES

Mackowsky 1951, p. 31, no. 5, fig. 9; Eckardt 1990, p. 23, ill. p. 153; Scherf 1993a, fig. 13

Schadow presents the Greek hero Achilles, who would soon die at Troy, in a thoughtful moment after he has learned that his great friend Patroclus has died in battle. Achilles is contemplating revenge, “no matter what fate awaits him,” as Schadow’s Academy colleague Karl Philipp Moritz would write in his authoritative *Götterlehre* (Stories of the Gods, 1791; Moritz 1795 [1989 ed.], p. 278). The present work is marked by expressive and loose modeling and calm amplitude, remarkable in the skeptical and defiant expression, the cautiously hesitant but bellicose pose, the position of the arms with the left hand braced against the hip, the sword and cuirass behind the leg. A larger version, which must certainly have been planned, was not executed.

This heroic figure was probably influenced by Moritz’s views, but in any case the Wrath of Achilles was a popular subject at the time. Representations of the hero combined great virtue—courageously taking the place of a fallen friend—with the immense inner struggle that precedes such a noble act.

In his extensive oeuvre Schadow repeatedly depicted warriors in meditation before battle, hovering between contemplation and action in the fertile moment that preceded the act itself. A notable example of this state is seen in his *General von Zieten* (marble; Berlin, Bode-museum). The sculptor was a true representative of his era, an artist of the Enlightenment. He was not intrigued by the Baroque pathos of victory but rather by the balance between thought and action: he conceived of men above all as thinking beings.

In the present sketch Schadow was inspired by the *Borghese Mars* (fig. 132). This statue, which was frequently regarded as a representation of Achilles, served as a model for the classical nudity and stance of his hero. While working on the sketch, the ambitious young sculptor envisioned an idealized lifesize statue that would

demonstrate his artistic power. It would have brought him great renown in Rome and international commissions, placing him in direct competition with Canova. However, he never got beyond a second model, now lost, that he began in Rome, where he sojourned from 1785 to 1787. He broke off work on it and left it behind when he took a position at the porcelain manufactory in Berlin (as it turned out he worked there for only a short time).

The *Achilles* is the earliest surviving Schadow model, made when the artist was only twenty-two years old. In Rome he met a number of contemporary artists, including Trippel and Canova. In 1786 he took part in the Concorso Balestra. To be admitted to the competition, he had to submit a Perseus and Andromeda group, one in which he again dealt with the hero theme, this time with an added female figure. He shared the second prize with Pacetti, while Chinard was awarded the first (see cat. no. 35; Eckardt 1990, p. 18). This success elevated Schadow into the ranks of internationally recognized young sculptors. The Perseus and Andromeda model was once in the Akademie der Künste in Berlin (Mackowsky 1951, p. 28), but the group has long been known only as a medal (Mackowsky 1951, ill. p. 24) and a drawing (Eckardt 1990, ill. p. 18). It has been suggested that a model in Bayonne (cat. no. 37), similar in motif, is the missing terracotta (Worley 1989), but this hypothesis has been vigorously debated (in, for example, Düsseldorf, Nuremberg, and Berlin 1994–95, no. 82) and is now generally discounted.



Fig. 132
Roman copy of a Greek original, *Borghese Mars*, marble. Paris, Musée du Louvre



Fig. 133
Felix Schadow, *Johann Gottfried Schadow at Work in His Studio*, after 1840, black, gray, and yellow ink and graphite. Berlin, Staatliche Museen

The present Achilles model was in the possession of the artist's family when it was acquired by the Nationalgalerie, with other works from the same source, including several models in clay and wax (some of them bronzed). It seems certain that even this early work came from the sculptor's atelier. Little importance was given to such sketches in late-nineteenth-century Germany. After they entered the museum in 1888, they were placed in the documentary collection of plaster models and casts, material regarded as having no great value. Only with the landmark 1906 exhibition of German art from 1775 to 1875 did they begin to be appreciated. The freshness of their modeling appealed to the Impressionist generation, the first to recognize their high quality. They are among the most prized treasures in the Nationalgalerie's collection of nineteenth-century sculpture, surely the largest such collection in Germany. The terracottas are in good condition, thanks to Schadow's craftsmanship and proper care.

The sculptor was highly regarded in his lifetime, both as director of Berlin's Akademie der Künste and as an uncommon spirit. Schadow's youngest son, Felix, made a drawing of his father working at a stand-up desk next to a window in his home (fig. 133). To his right are reliefs, death masks, and statuettes, including sketches for the statues of Zieten and Leopold von Anhalt-Dessau (Düsseldorf, Nuremberg, and Berlin 1994–95, no. 162, ill. p. 135). He liked to be surrounded by his favorite works, all exhibiting extraordinary "promptitude"—a French loan word that in German connotes the intellectual verve and manual dexterity so evident in his studies.

BM



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Fig. 134
Kozlovsky, *Alexander Keeping Vigil*,
about 1785–88, marble. Saint Petersburg,
State Russian Museum

99

MIKHAIL IVANOVICH KOZLOVSKY

Saint Petersburg, 1753–Saint Petersburg, 1802

Alexander Keeping Vigil

Terracotta, 19 × 20 × 11 cm (7½ × 7¾ × 4¾ in.)
Saint Petersburg, State Russian Museum (325)

PROVENANCE

A. I. Korsakov (?), Saint Petersburg; Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, until 1911

EXHIBITIONS

Leningrad 1953 (unnumbered); Leningrad 1986, no. 2, ill.; Saint Petersburg 1995, no. 2, ill.

REFERENCES

Vrangel' 1910, pp. 106, 108, ill. (*Achilles on His Bed*); Petrov 1977, pp. 96–99, ill.; State Russian Museum, Leningrad 1988, pp. 80–81, no. 546, ill.

This sketch is directly linked to the renowned marble statue by Mikhail Ivanovich Kozlovsky (fig. 134) that has been displayed at three sites in Saint Petersburg: first the Tauride Palace, then the State Hermitage Museum, and

since 1927 at the State Russian Museum. The Tauride Palace, an outstanding example of Russian Neoclassicism, was built in 1783–89 by Ivan Starov for the prepotent Grigory Aleksandrovich Potemkin (1739–1791), lover of Catherine the Great and the conqueror of Turkish Crimea (Tauria), which was annexed by the Russian empire in 1783. He was made prince of Tauria in 1787.

Kozlovsky's work is clearly an homage to Potemkin, whose patronymic evokes the most glorious of conquerors. The subject is taken from Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*: the hero, under the admiring gaze of his companions, sleeps peacefully on the eve of the decisive Battle of Gaugamela, where he will win against Darius III. This image condensed the qualities of a great leader: impassive courage, calm assurance, and steady nerves.

Kozlovsky's works in clay have an emotional and sculptural sublimity. The lively, organic modeling, emphasizing the hero's musculature and the internal tension that underlies his repose, is extraordinarily evident in the terracotta but is lost in the marble version, which has an almost icy perfection. In the late 1820s P. P. Svin'in, the founder of the private "Russian museum," declared that "sketches in clay are as admirable as marble," a statement that is especially true of Kozlovsky's oeuvre. The sculptor made a good number of terracottas for General

A. I. Korsakov, another great Saint Petersburg collector. After his death in 1822 the Hermitage purchased Korsakov's terracottas, among which was undoubtedly the present work. EK

100

MATHIEU KESSELS

Maastricht, 1784–Rome, 1836

Mars at Rest

Unfired clay, 23.5 × 9 × 6.5 cm (9¼ × 3½ × 2½ in.)
Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique

PROVENANCE

Acquired with the contents of the artist's studio in Rome at the time of his death, 1836

EXHIBITION

Brussels 1985–86, no. 179, ill.

REFERENCES

Archivio dell'Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, inv. 1821, vol. 146, no. 18; Albites 1837, no. 59; Devigne 1923, no. 541; Van Lennep 1992, p. 259, no. 541, ill.; 's Hertogenbosch 1994–95, p. 190, no. K48, ill.

Paris only

By the 1815 Treaty of Paris, the château of Laeken on the outskirts of Brussels, which Napoleon had taken for his Belgian residence, passed with all of Belgium to William I, king of the Netherlands. Among the changes wrought by that unpopular monarch was the rededication of a temple of Friendship, picturesquely situated in the gardens, to a temple of Mars, the god of war (Van Ypersele de Strihou 1970, pp. 202, 203, ill.). The change was understandable for a government determined, in the wake of Waterloo,

to give the appearance of standing up to foreign pressures. The colossal statue that occupies the *tempietto* was ordered from Mathieu Kessels, then making a name for himself in Rome, in the mid-1820s. The marble was installed in 1827, and the king afterward knighted him.

The war god was especially revered in the bellicose Rome of antiquity, where the temple of Mars Ultor (the Avenger) was one of the great shrines. Retribution may be taken to be one of the considerations going through the mind of Kessels's contemplative figure. Three distinctly different compositions preceded the marble, all in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. A plaster 94.5 cm (37¼ in.) tall has a studied contrapposto which Bergé correctly relates to the ancient *Hadrian as*



Fig. 135
Kessels, *Mars at Rest*, about 1825,
marble. Brussels, Royal Palace
of Laeken



Mars in the Museo Capitolino ('s Hertogenbosch 1994–95, no. 7, ill., and p. 56, fig. 34). Kessels, whose advisers no doubt included Antonio Canova and Bertel Thorvaldsen, in both of whose studios he worked, decided that the pose was too quiescent and rethought it in the present sketch, in which the legs are more limber and farther apart. There are still echoes of the antique, as in the tree stump for support, but Kessels has profited hugely from his study with the two modern masters. The sketch echoes Thorvaldsen's *Jason* (1802–28, marble in Copenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum; Cologne 1977, p. 18, ill.) as well as Canova's paired *Hector* and *Ajax* (1808–16 and 1811–12, marbles in Venice, Palazzo Treves; Pavanetto 1976, pp. 119–20, nos. 216, 219, ill.). Kessels's sketch retains the knot of drapery from the shoulder of Canova's *Hector*. Thanks again to Canova, in the full-size plaster

figure that is the third and definitive model, the pose is reversed and Mars assumes an even more elegant contrapposto stance (fig. 135; 's Hertogenbosch 1994–95, p. 190, no. K50).

The modeling emphasizes the body's bony structure, as in the sharply faceted shins. JDD

101

FRENCH OR FLEMISH

ca. 1780–90

Mercury Preparing to Slay Argus

Terracotta, 36 × 15 × 11.5 cm (14¼ × 5⅞ × 4½ in.)
Saint-Germain-en-Laye, private collection

PROVENANCE

Acquired at sale, Paris, Drouot, October 26, 1994, no. 152 (then painted to resemble bronze)

The divine messenger Mercury, who usually got his way through wiliness, is not often shown with so martial an air as here. His bravest feat was to slay the many-eyed monster Argus at the behest of Jupiter. Although Ovid says explicitly that Mercury removed his winged cap and sandals after flying down to earth to perform that deed (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.672–75), here he retains his cap. He contemplates the monster with grave introspection, just before drawing his sword to dispatch it (as in *Metamorphoses* 1.717–18).

The composition is suavely accomplished and original, independent of the antique. The legs spread far apart and arm crossed over the chest produce a series of angles and curves that evoke the *figura serpentinata* beloved of the Mannerists. The creator has so far escaped identification, but he may prove not to be French: the reddish color of the clay often characterizes Flemish terracottas. JDD

102

JOSEPH CHINARD

Lyon, 1756–Lyon, 1813

Phryne Emerging from Her Bath

Terracotta, 71.8 × 26.7 × 21.6 cm (28¼ × 10½ × 8½ in.)
Stamped on the side: CHINARD SCULPTEUR
New York, Arthur M. Sackler Collections (77.5.29)

101





102 (reverse)

Joseph Chinard called this delectable work *Phriné sortant du bain* when showing it at the Salon of 1810. It later became known as *Galatea*.

Phryne, an Athenian courtesan of the fourth century B.C., was renowned for her beauty. Stories of wit and pluck are also attached to her name. Brought before the tribunal on the Areopagus, she stunned her judges by opening her tunic; her beauty thus revealed moved them to forgive her as a “priestess of Venus.” But here Chinard presents the woman who inspired artists. Apelles is said to have painted her as the Venus Anandymene after she bathed naked in the sea before a crowd of awed Greeks. And Praxiteles, reputedly one of her lovers, is said to

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PROVENANCE
M. Villard, Lyon

EXHIBITIONS
Paris, Salon of 1810, no. 945; Washington, New York, and
Cambridge 1979–82, no. 87, ill.; New York 1981, no. 51, ill.;
Chicago 1987–88, no. 23

REFERENCE
La Chapelle 1896–97, vol. 1, p. 143

have portrayed her in his Cnidian Venus (see various ancient accounts brought together by Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists*, 13r, 60–61). In Chinard's tour de force Praxiteles' eyes are replaced by his own, gazing enraptured at unearthly loveliness.

A German savant went so far as to assert that the famous ancient marble, the Medici Venus in Florence, was the very masterpiece by Praxiteles for which Phryne has served as model (Murr 1804; for the *Medici Venus* and her afterlife, see Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 325–28, no. 88, fig. 173). Chinard knew the *Medici Venus*, but in his statuette she merged with other primordial invocations of beauty, the *Capitoline Venus* and a now-neglected *Venus* in the stores of the Vatican (Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 318–20, 330–31, nos. 84, 90, figs. 168, 175). Pertinently for Chinard, these two display excellent drapery and a vase at the goddess's side. The stance of the *Callipygian Venus* in Naples, tantalizingly both revealing and concealing her body, was not far from his mind, even though that statuette had a strong sideward movement (Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 316–18, no. 83, fig. 168). He surely remembered Antoine Houdon's *La Frileuse*, in which the drapery serves, through contrast, to emphasize the nude's posterior (see cat. no. 16), but his *Phryne* moves beyond these models in the audacity with which her drapery frames and accentuates her charms. Especially remarkable is the rear view, where the drapery placement exposes and accentuates her haunches, but typically for Chinard, the overall mood remains grave and restrained.

The Salon of 1810 served as a retrospective for Chinard, and Alastair Laing (in Washington, New York, and Cambridge 1979–82, no. 87) is right to date *Phryne* to earlier years, and not only because of the stamped signature which he apparently did not employ after 1787. There is no hint of the elongation that increasingly marked Chinard's later work, but above all *Phryne* is imbued with all the wholehearted passion with which he embraced Rome and its art during his first visit in 1784–87.

Numerous small damages and fills in the buff clay have been painted over.

JDD

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JOHANN GOTTFRIED SCHADOW

Berlin, 1764–Berlin, 1850

Praxiteles (?) or Young Man at an Altar

Terracotta, 33 × 11.5 × 8 cm (13 × 4½ × 3⅞ in.)

Inscribed on the front, side, and back of the stele: *Socrates / Homer / Prometheus*

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie (G 507)

PROVENANCE

Acquired in 1888 from Eugenie Schadow, née d'Alton-Rauch, Berlin

EXHIBITIONS

Berlin 1964, no. 43, ill. p. 138; Düsseldorf, Nuremberg, and Berlin 1994–95, no. 75, ill.

REFERENCES

Mackowsky 1951, p. 208, no. 210, and fig. 168; Eckardt 1990, p. 180, ill. p. 260; Maaz 2001, p. 116 and fig. 125

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JOHANN GOTTFRIED SCHADOW

Berlin, 1764–Berlin, 1850

Phryne (?) or Young Woman Draped

Terracotta, 33.5 × 14.5 × 10 cm (13¼ × 5¾ × 4 in.)

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie (G 509)

PROVENANCE

Acquired in 1888 from Eugenie Schadow, née d'Alton-Rauch, Berlin

EXHIBITIONS

Berlin 1964, no. 42, ill. p. 139; Düsseldorf, Nuremberg, and Berlin 1994–95, no. 76, ill.

REFERENCES

Rave 1929, pp. 43–45, ill. p. 42; Mackowsky 1951, p. 208, no. 209, and fig. 167; Syamken 1988, p. 390 (1906 bronze cast); Eckardt 1990, p. 180, ill. p. 261; Maaz 2001, p. 116 and fig. 126

The youth, nude except for a small drapery, casts a yearning and curious glance over his shoulder. The position of his head suggests that his gaze is gliding down his companion's body. It is a masculine, admiring gaze, not so much lustful as composed. With one leg crossed in front of the other he leans against a three-sided altar. The woman who is the object of his gaze appears somewhat skeptical and aloof, at least hesitant, though she bares her lovely body. The modeling is extremely delicate: the flesh has been smoothed, and the hair and



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drapery, with their “impressionistic” facture, contrast with her body. Such extraordinarily subtle treatment would seem to demand a lifesize version, but none was commissioned.

These two models, standing on similar oval plinths, were made at the same time (about 1811–17) and have always been taken to be a pair—*Young Man at an Altar* and *Young Woman Draped*—but their identities have remained obscure. It is not known why Schadow created

the sketches, why he did not develop them further, and how they are to be interpreted. No documents can be connected to the pair. Attempts have been made to identify them—as allegories of the seasons (Rave 1929, p. 44), as Hera (Syamken 1988, p. 390), as Persephone (Maaz in Düsseldorf, Nuremberg, and Berlin 1994–95, no. 76), or as Truth revealing herself to man (Eckardt 1990, p. 180)—but none has been convincing.

For the interpretation that is first suggested here, I

am indebted to a conversation with James David Draper in Berlin in summer 2002. He convincingly called my attention to the iconography of Phryne. This identification has much to recommend it. Schadow depicted this antique figure in one of the reliefs that decorated the house where he lived and had his studio (fig. 136). There Phryne is seated in the atelier of the sculptor Praxiteles, whose model and concubine she was. She wants to discover which of his works is his favorite (Maaz 2002, p. 17). A Satyr and an Eros are in the workshop, and when, at Phryne's prompting, an assistant cries out that the room is on fire, the master will snatch up the Eros, the work he values most highly.

Schadow's *Phryne* is probably meant to be thought of as the artist's ideal model, the epitome of charm and grace. In any case, his interest in Praxiteles refers to his own activity as a sculptor and is an homage to one of the most esteemed ancient masters. In his reliefs Schadow also included depictions of other sculptors from antiquity as well as their works, from Phidias to Lysippus to the Laocoon group, thereby placing himself in that tradition.

In his standing pose, leaning against the altar, the youth recalls, perhaps intentionally, the *Satyr* of Praxiteles, whose works were considered the purest representative of an elegant, graceful style. Heinrich Meyer, Goethe's Weimar interlocutor in art matters, praised the works of Praxiteles as the "most perfect of all" (H. H. Meyer 1974, p. 39). Praxiteles repeatedly created youthful figures: for him youth was an ideal in itself. The young man's elegant, supple stance suggests that he might be a depiction of Praxiteles himself contemplating his beloved model Phryne, his ideal in art and in life.

The names inscribed on the three sides of the *Young Man*'s base support these conclusions in that they stand for philosophy, poetry, and myth, the three fundamentals of the fine arts in general and particularly in the ancients' view of them. On the front is inscribed Socrates, the philosopher who had at one time worked as a sculptor. Schadow had previously pictured him in a carefully finished drawing. On the side we read the name Homer, the poet who shaped the myths of antiquity and serves as a polestar for all classical scholars. On the back appears the name Prometheus, the divine figure who gave fire and craftsmanship to humankind and who was the patron of artists. Together the three names embody the essentials of art: philosophy as knowledge of the world, myth and literature as inspiration, and craftsmanship, the skill of giving form to lofty subjects.

These references to the practice of art make it likely that the two figures were indeed meant to embody the fine arts. In a subtle interplay of meanings Praxiteles and Phryne stand for male and female, perception and form, mind and body, and perhaps even intellect and sensuality. Just as in the reliefs he created for his house, Schadow proves himself to be an unusually literate artist—unsurprising when we recall that he was associated with the Akademie der Künste for decades and produced a fair amount of writing himself.

Another pair of terracotta models by Schadow are traditionally identified as *Nature* and *The Genius of Art* (figs. 137, 138; Düsseldorf, Nuremberg, and Berlin 1994–95, nos. 77, 78, ill.). These were executed in bronzed wax and date from 1813. The young man holds a stylus or a pencil (indicating that he is an artist) and gazes at

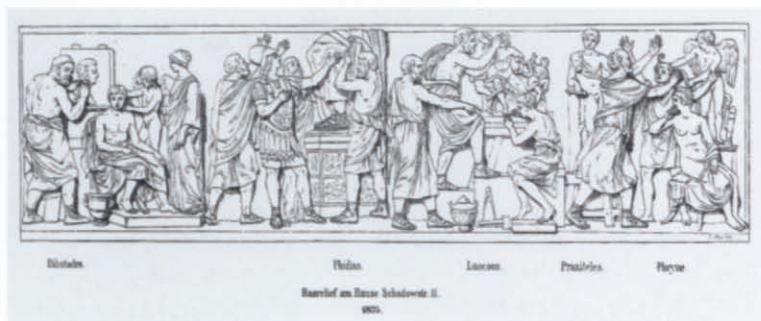


Fig. 136
Etching of reliefs representing Schadow's home and studio from *Erläuterung der Abbildungen von den Bildhauer-Arbeiten des Johann Gottfried Schadow* (Berlin, 1849), pl. xvii



Fig. 137
Schadow, *Nature*, 1813, bronze-tinted wax, wooden base. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie



Fig. 138
Schadow, *The Genius of Art*, 1813, bronze-tinted wax, wooden base. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie

Nature, who chastely offers herself to him. Nature is thus presented as Art's supreme model. The young man's stance—his left foot on the base of a column—suggests here a grounding in antiquity as well as a knowledge of Nature.

Although it is now known what these two pairs of figures were intended for, it is clear that they express in visual form the artist's essential beliefs and principles.

Schadow's statues, his architectural and tomb sculpture, and his portrait busts have been thoroughly researched. His terracottas, however, pose any number of riddles and constitute an unexplained portion of his oeuvre. At the same time, they are among the finest of his creations. Their surfaces are modeled with a deft, magisterial touch, so that they are full of life and sensuality. The *Satyr* in particular illustrates how Schadow plays with borrowings from antiquity—here the *Barberini Faun*—and gives them a touch uniquely his own (Düsseldorf, Nuremberg, and Berlin 1994–95, no. 73, ill.). BM

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JOSEPH NOLLEKENS

London, 1737–London, 1823

Paetus and Arria

Terracotta, 18.7 × 8 × 8 cm (7³/₈ × 3¹/₈ × 3¹/₈ in.)
New York, Arthur M. Sackler Collections (77.5.5a)

PROVENANCE

The artist's estate, sale, Christie's, London, July 5, 1823, no. 71, bought by Thane; sale, Sotheby's, London, March 18, 1976, no. 197, ill.; acquired by Dr. Sackler in London

EXHIBITIONS

Presumably "A model, Paetus and Arria; a groupe" shown at the Royal Academy, London, 1771, no. 141; Washington, New York, and Cambridge 1979–82, no. 115, ill.; New York 1981, no. 54; Chicago 1987–88, no. 21

REFERENCE

Kenworthy-Browne 1998, pp. 74, 77, no. 5, ill.

When this work was sold in 1976, the artist was correctly identified as Joseph Nollekens despite an old label that read "Virginius and his Daughter, Modelled by Flaxman." It is in fact a free variant of one of the antique groups most discussed during the Neoclassical age (fig. 139; Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 282–84, no. 68, fig. 149). Now believed to be a Gaul stabbing himself, having

already killed his wife rather than let her be taken captive, the group was considered in the eighteenth century to represent Paetus and Arria. Caecina Paetus was an official embroiled in the ill-fated plot of Camillus Scribonianus to overthrow Claudius in A.D. 42. Ordered to commit suicide, he faltered, but his stoical wife set him an example, stabbing herself and handing him the sword with words that became famous, "Non dolet, Paete" (It doesn't hurt, Paetus). Pliny had the story of Arria from her granddaughter Fannia (*Epistles* 3.16).

Nollekens's alterations include wrapping Paetus more modestly and altering his stance to allow the figures to unite more harmoniously. The Royal Academy show of 1771 opened just four months after his return from eight years in Italy, and John Kenworthy-Browne surmises that this may be one of the models Nollekens brought home with him. On the other hand, a plaster cast after the antique was in London from 1756; such a cast appears in the background of Rowlandson's drawing showing Nollekens modeling from life (fig. 140). Nollekens seems to have been unaware of recent British paintings on the subject, such as Benjamin West's (Erffa and Staley 1986, pp. 182–83, nos. 38–40, ill.).

The sculptor's earliest successes, even before Italy, had been in clay. J. T. Smith, who assisted Nollekens and sat as a model (and was "an ungentle executor" according to a later biographer, Cunningham 1859–68, vol. 3, p. 108), wrote his memories of Nollekens in a heavily jocular vein but left a decent account of his prowess as a modeler (quoted in this volume, "Neoclassical Modeling," p. 9). Interestingly, Nollekens's terracotta sketches (first studied by Esdaile 1944) are so imbued with Italianate style that they are called *pensieri* in the artist's estate sale catalogue. They are very well made. Smith recalled him saying to Thomas Gainsborough, who was attempting some modeling himself, "You should model more with the thumbs; thumb it about, till you get it into shape" (Smith 1828, vol. 1, p. 185). This method may account for the general bluntness of effect in several of Nollekens's sketches. In its seizing of movement, the present one vies with the best of these sketches, a takeoff on the Laocoon (fig. 55). He certainly did not rely on thumb work alone but left small flickering facets all over with his modeling stick. Smith says Nollekens dabbled in antiquities in Rome, especially "numerous pieces of ancient Roman terracottas, some of exquisite taste, from the labourers who were employed in digging gravel at Porta Latina"; the large number sold later to Charles Townley (Smith 1828, vol. 1, p. 10) were probably ornamental details that would not have influenced the artist's style.

There is a leathery hardness to the dark surface of this terracotta which has sustained losses in Paetus's nose and some of Arria's fingers. JDD



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Fig. 139
Roman copy of a Greek original,
*Gaul Stabbing Himself after Having
Stabbed His Wife* (formerly *Paetus
and Arria*), marble. Rome, Museo
Nazionale Romano



Fig. 140
Thomas Rowlandson, *Nollekens Modeling Venus*, ink with
wash. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University,
Widener Library

MIKHAIL IVANOVICH KOZLOVSKY

Saint Petersburg, 1753–Saint Petersburg, 1802

Ajax Carrying the Body of Patroclus

Terracotta, 24 × 12 × 11 cm (9½ × 4¾ × 4⅜ in.)

Saint Petersburg, State Russian Museum (329)

PROVENANCE

E. G. Schwartz, Saint Petersburg; B. N. Argoutinsky-Dolgoroukov until 1918

EXHIBITIONS

Leningrad 1953 (unnumbered); Leningrad 1986, no. 5, ill.; Saint Petersburg 1995, no. 4, ill.

REFERENCES

Vrangel' 1910, pp. 106, 112, ill.; Petrov 1977, pp. 158–63, 165–66, ill.; State Russian Museum, Leningrad 1988, p. 81, no. 550, ill.

The series of terracotta sketches by Mikhail Ivanovich Kozlovsky, inspired by subjects from Homer's *Iliad*, is traditionally dated to the mid-1790s. Some—*Agamemnon*,

Hector, *Ulysses*—are known only through old inventories in the Hermitage archives. Those works that have survived—*Ajax Carrying the Body of Patroclus* and the *Death of Astyanax*—are in the collection of the State Russian Museum. Here the hero carries the body of Patroclus toward the Greek camp, saving it from the fury of Hector and the Trojans (*Iliad* 17.712–55). The composition shows the influence of a large antique marble in the Farnese Collection (fig. 134) known by a number of names, including *Pasquino* and *Ajax Carried by a Soldier* (Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 291–96, no. 72, fig. 155).

The Louvre edition of the present catalogue identifies the subject as *Menelaus Bearing the Body of Patroclus*, an understandable confusion since both Greeks, Ajax and Menelaus, performed this function in episodes from Homer. However, Menelaus is normally shown as slightly older and bearded. Moreover, Kozlovsky's own brother mentions "Ajax Protecting the Body of Patroclus" in a list of the sculptor's works. The hero is thus more apt to be Ajax, as in *Iliad* 17.128–39.

The theme of the hero, so central to Kozlovsky's works, is treated in his models with an expressive passion. His contemporaries compared him to Michelangelo, not



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only in writings about him but also in the epitaph carved on his tomb. The composition, which was enlarged in marble (also in the State Russian Museum), is far less eloquent in terracotta. The vitality of Kozlovsky's observations from life is especially evident here, demonstrating the sculptor's genius at organizing volumes in space. The bodies of the two heroes, as if forged into a single entity, are given abundant grace notes from every angle.

EK

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CLAUDE MICHEL, CALLED CLODION

Nancy, 1738–Paris, 1814

Warrior Carrying a Youth

Terracotta, 26.4 × 14.9 × 9.8 cm (10 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

Inscribed in pencil underneath: *maquette de Clodion / pièce de premier ordre* (model by Clodion / piece of the first order)

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (1989.310)

PROVENANCE

Joseph Hirshhorn, Cap d'Antibes; Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden Collection, Washington, D.C.; sale New York, Christie's, November 1, 1989, no. 57, acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts from the Mary S. and Edward J. Holmes Fund

REFERENCE

Poulet 1991, pp. 54–60, 68–69, 72 n. 20

Following its 1981 acquisition of the spectacular *Flood* (cat. no. 108) by Clodion, the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston bought the gripping sketch-model, intimately



Fig. 141
Roman copy of a Greek original,
Warrior and Youth (formerly identified
as *Menelaus and Patroclus* or *Hector
and Troilus*), marble. Naples, Museo
Archeologico Nazionale



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related compositionally but on a different theme, that preceded it. The presence of the sword and helmet on the base indicates that the older warrior is removing a younger one, dead or about to be, from the din and detritus of the field of battle. Anne Poulet (1991, p. 57) suspects a Homeric source, possibly Menelaus bearing the body of Patroclus (although she points out that in

the *Iliad*, 17.722, two warriors, Menelaus and Meriones, perform the task; further, if he had had Homer in mind, Clodion would have known to show a gash in the abdomen of "Patroclus"). The *Pasquino*, the ancient group that was one of Clodion's major sources, was in his day interpreted as Menelaus supporting the body of Patroclus (see Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 291–96, no. 72). An even closer antique source is the Farnese *Warrior and Youth*, sometimes also described as Menelaus and Patroclus (fig. 141; see Poulet 1991, p. 73 n. 31). In this group the youth is slung upside down over the upright man's shoulder, but Clodion's study of the latter's powerfully striding legs is evident. His consultation of that group also informs a terracotta from about the same time, 1795–1800, *Return of the Hunter* in Bayonne, Musée Bonnat (Paris 1992a, no. 69, ill.), where the victim is a goat, not a youth. Clodion's main concerns are often compositional rather than narrative. The *Return of the Hunter* is a disquisition on primitive man; the present group is a scene of soldierly piety taking place on one ancient battlefield or another; *The Flood* visits a natural disaster but gives no hint of place or date. In this regard Clodion's mind ran parallel to those of academic draftsmen who combined the poses of nude models in their studios, the main motive being that of meeting challenges to their own dexterity; a drawing by Jean-Baptiste Wicar seems singularly à propos (see fig. 143).

Clodion's figures, sagging ephebe and virile bearer, are artfully contrasted, their flesh set off by richly twining draperies hardly suitable for a battleground. Rapid first-thought sketch-models by Clodion are rare. This one shows short strokes of raking all over the buff clay (darkened by handling), especially vivid in the draperies.

JDD

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CLAUDE MICHEL, CALLED CLODION

Nancy, 1738–Paris, 1814

The Flood

Terracotta, 54.5 × 30.5 × 23.5 cm (21½ × 12 × 9¼ in.)

Inscribed in ink on the base in front: *Scène du déluge* (Scene of the deluge) and *Clodion sc. / 1800*

Incised before firing on the rear right corner: *CLODION.1800*
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (1981.398)

PROVENANCE

Most likely the piece in the inventory of Clodion's effects after his death, dated April 30, 1814: "Sketch of a scene of the flood," listed together with "three little children, all in terracotta" (see Paris 1992a, p. 72; the present work goes beyond the finish of a mere sketch [such as cat. no. 107], but the wording "*Scène du déluge*" is all but certainly taken directly from the pen inscription on

the present piece); sale, Paris, Drouot, June 12–13, 1911, no. 65; Peter Wilson, London; sale, Monte Carlo, Sotheby Parke Bernet, June 14–15, 1981, no. 38; acquired by the museum in 1981 with the John H. and Ernestine A. Payne Fund, 1981

EXHIBITION

New York 1984, no. 12

REFERENCES

Guiffrey 1912, p. 231; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 1982, p. 28; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 1987, pp. 118–19; Poulet 1991; Scherf 1992, pp. 28, 30, ill.; Paris 1992a, pp. 13, 66, 67, 68, 72, 327, 329, 354; West 1998, pp. 138–44

Convinced of the potential in his two-figure group (cat. no. 107), Clodion used the format to express a theme of even greater pathos. Retaining the main figures, he elongated the youth, who is so tenderly carried, and broadened the base to include a drowned mother whose half-length body is borne by a log, and a child who desperately reaches toward her. At the age of sixty-two, in financial straits but with a sure hand, he embarked on *The Flood*, the masterpiece that he hoped would improve his chances of being taken seriously by an increasingly sophisticated and critical Parisian public. His considerable contribution to the earlier phases of Neoclassicism notwithstanding, the master confectioner of never-never land frolics must have realized that these last were more than a little passé. Even so, there are reminders of the old Clodion here, especially in the panic-stricken infant, a signature element as it were, and in the titillating glimpses of the youth's pubic hair and half-bared genitals.

The lifesize plaster was exhibited in the Salon of 1801, held at the Louvre, and was engraved the same year (fig. 142). The Salon *livret* explicates the group's meaning in prose that echoes Clodion's compositional fervor:

The most pressing moment was chosen, that when the flood forces each person to seek refuge on the most elevated places. A father in despair had seen his son whom he believed to be dead, but in approaching him, he saw that he was still breathing; he seizes him in his arms, and carries him to the top of a mountain to save him quickly; next to him is a woman who, after having fought a long time against the waves, has also managed to reach the highest place. She has just placed her child there, but, exhausted by her efforts, after first holding herself back with one arm around part of a broken tree, her strength leaves her, she faints, and she perishes, carried off by the violence of the water. (*livret* of the Salon of Year VI [1801], p. 68, no. 413)

This group won one of the two *prix d'encouragement* for sculpture (the other went to Pierre Cartellier), amounting to five thousand francs, but times were hard and the longed-for commission to execute the group in marble did not materialize. Several critics appreciated the plaster model, but others carped, especially at the



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startling truncation of the female figure in the water (see Poulet 1991, pp. 70–71 n. 6). Eventually, in 1807, a wearied Clodion gave the plaster to the Senate where his plaster *Cato of Utica* (see cat. no. 44) was housed and where it still stands (Paris 1992a, no. 74). *The Flood*, though esteemed by fellow sculptors, was in disrepair by 1830 and has vanished (Poulet 1991, pp. 55, 71 n. 11).

Anne Poulet (1991) traces the genesis of the model magisterially, leaving little if anything to add. She discusses Clodion's reduced circumstances at the time; prior treatments of the subject by painters, from Nicolas



108 (reverse)

Poussin's great Louvre canvas of 1660–64 through later renditions, notably Jean-Baptiste Regnault's, admired in the Salon of 1789 (also Louvre and also showing four figures that include a mother and child; see Poulet 1991, figs. 18, 19). She also explores the impossibility of tying Clodion's group to any specific catastrophe, such as the biblical deluge, and the work's appeal to natural scientists, such as Buffon, and to informed literati and Romantic spirits at large. A year before, *Die Flut* (The Flood), the Swiss Salomon Gessner's melodramatic novella, reached France with his collected writings. In it two

lovers, declaring eternal devotion, stand on a patch of earth amid the rising waters, where they face certain death (*Oeuvres de Salomon Gessner* [Paris, 1799], vol. 2, pp. 207–14; Poulet 1991, p. 76 n. 61). The fate of Clodion's figures looks hardly less bleak, although the *Salon livret* offers a ray of hope.

Poulet also handles authoritatively Clodion's sculptural inspirations, especially from the antique but also from Gian Lorenzo Bernini, classic French academic traditions, and contemporaries in Rome. She spots allusions to the Vatican *Cleopatra* (Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 184–87, no. 24, fig. 96) in the woman's head and torso and finds precedents in the bust of Caracalla at Naples for the man's hair and knitted brow (for the *Caracalla*, see also Poulet in Paris 1992a, p. 354). It is amazing, by the way, that in the model our hero is able amid all the turmoil to maintain the careful part in his curls. But even that is perhaps part of Clodion's point: despite the odds, this central figure does not give up the fight and might even be said to oppose the new Romantic view of "man as the victim of powerful forces beyond his comprehension or his control" (words used in another context by Poulet 1991, p. 61). In any event, Charles-Paul Landon's engraving after the plaster shows less orderly locks, perhaps a revised response to the turbulent conditions. Other changes from terracotta to plaster were a less regular, rockier shape for the hillock and the elimination of the inundated plant life except for the log that daringly bisects the base from front to back.

This log, as well as the higher ground to his right in the plaster, would make the hero's progress all the more arduous and daunting. A misstep could fling him into the deep—yet paradoxically his precariousness makes his stance more open and graceful. Clodion's pathos and his naturalistic deployment of his models were at the center of the aims of Neoclassical draftsmen; thus Wicar, probably working a few years earlier (fig. 143; Perugia 2002, no. 22, ill.).

The complications of realizing all the undercutting that would be required in a marble can only be imagined; the risks would echo the theme in bravura fashion. Such are the horrific "Gothick" reflections, together with admiration for technique, that this deeply pondered group was meant to elicit from the mesmerized beholder. Its sad fate means that the statue's impact on the history of Romantic art, with its penchant for disaster, will remain an imponderable. Yet somehow we cannot shake the feeling that even the Romantic movement's centerpiece, Théodore Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa* (1819, Louvre), was in some sense, for all its lugubrious grandeur and specificity, a descendant of *The Flood*.

The model is a tour de force, showing an uncommon fluidity in flesh and drapery. Being wet when modeled, the medium was sympathetic to the aqueous theme. Before its acquisition by the museum, the buff terracotta had suffered breakage, especially in the limbs, but those areas have been sensitively restored and patinated.

JDD



Fig. 142
After Clodion, engraving of *The Flood*
from Landon 1801, vol. 1, p. 99, pl. 48



Fig. 143
Jean-Baptiste Wicar, *Nude Carrying a Young Man*, about 1785–89, black chalk.
Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts

5

Some Leading Preoccupations



Four themes explored by Neoclassical sculptors are presented here: “Great Men,” “Genre Sculpture,” “Funerary Sculpture,” and “Religious Art.”

“Great Men” evokes the ardent admiration of national heroes evident in England (cat. no. 1) and then in France, especially from the reign of Louis XVI to the Bourbon Restoration. In Voltaire’s apotheosis (cat. nos. 109, 110), the expanding circle of men of letters witnessed the consecration of intellect and the rightful acknowledgment of the author. These attitudes were enthusiastically expressed during the Revolution (cat. nos. 57, 113) and led to the establishment of the Panthéon. Of his many commissions for the decoration of the Palais du Louvre, the comte d’Angiviller, directeur des bâtiments under Louis XVI, wanted especially to show that the Great Men of France were able to lend their shining genius to the Bourbon dynasty (cat. nos. 111, 112). This project was revived after the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy in 1814 (cat. no. 114). The Empire, in rehabilitating Colbert (cat. no. 22), paid homage to his abilities as a statesman and defender of the law. Great Men programs were also pursued in the provinces (cat. no. 55). In their depictions of these men, sculptors used different aesthetic approaches: they showed figures in contemporary dress (cat. nos. 1, 22, 55, 112, 114; fig. 144), they imitated conventions of antique art (cat. nos. 111, 113, 115), or they fused the two in an original synthesis (cat. nos. 109, 110).

Funerary sculpture witnessed the evolution from a Late Baroque allegorical vocabulary (cat. no. 116) to a growingly restrained approach (cat. no. 117). The international popularity of figures of mourning, solitary embodiments of grief, demonstrates that emotions had become the central quality of human characterizations (cat. nos. 117–22). Depictions of death were no longer the appanages uniquely of churches (cat. nos. 116, 121, 123) but appeared in domestic spaces in the form of small cenotaphs (cat. nos. 117, 124, 126), pleasant memento mori (cat. no. 118), or souvenirs from ruminative journeys (cat. no. 123). Some delectable narrative works have an allegorical scenography with explicit funerary associations (cat. nos. 125, 127).

“Genre sculpture” is a term borrowed from painting. The depiction of scenes from everyday life, which painters such as Greuze, Vincent, Boilly, and Gérard (to mention only a few French artists) brilliantly illustrated, attracted a number of sculptors. Sonnenschein (cat. nos. 130, 131), Delaville (fig. 175), Sermézy (cat. no. 132), and Pinelli (cat. no. 133 and fig. 145) meticulously re-created events in the lives of people of humble or middle-class means, in small terracotta objects, about whose network of diffusion one would like to understand more. Again, the real *raison d’être* was the exaltation of feelings, passing beyond the presentation of mere anecdote (cat. nos. 128, 129).



Fig. 144
Jean-Jacques Caffieri, *Pierre Corneille*, after 1779, terracotta.
Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts

Religious subjects were bound to reflect the broad diversity of approaches taken by sculptors in our period. Corradini's *Christ* (cat. no. 134), like Spinazzi's *Faith* (cat. no. 21), demonstrates the rapturous delight that mid-eighteenth-century Italian sculptors took in managing innumerable effects with drapery. The full-scale realizations of Pacetti's *Saint John the Evangelist* (cat. no. 140) and Delaistre's *Angels* (cat. nos. 136, 137) were meant for the imposing cathedral spaces of Milan and Orléans, respectively, and the fiery terracotta sketches are to be understood in the context of vast architectural settings. By contrast, Thorvaldsen's *Christian Charity* (cat. no. 67) is a relatively simple motif as appropriate for a private residence as for a religious establishment. Small terracotta models were also made for the images of penitents, such as the Prodigal Son and Mary Magdalen (figs. 146, 147), which had adorned the wood confessionals of Flemish churches since the seventeenth century. Canova's modest *Magdalen* (cat. no. 7) and his absolute masterpiece the *Virgin* (cat. no. 139) have an immense purity and serenity that are shared by Dannecker's deeply human *Christ* (cat. no. 138). GS



Fig. 145
Pinelli, *A Game of Bowls*, 1834, terracotta. Musée
National du Château de Versailles



Figs. 146, 147
Jan-Frans Van Geel, *The Prodigal Son* and *Mary Magdalen*,
about 1785–90, terracotta. Antwerp, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts,
on loan to the Fondation Roi Baudouin

Great Men

"Statues of illustrious men can awaken in noble souls the desire to imitate them."

—Petrarch¹

Since antiquity, historical figures have been admired for their exemplary characters and deeds. Pliny the Elder praised the kings of Alexandria and Pergamon for assembling portraits of writers, poets, and philosophers from the past to decorate libraries. And Cicero hoped that citizens who had devoted themselves to service to the republic would be honored with statues.² About 1540 Paolo Giovio, a Renaissance humanist and man of the church, assembled a collection of portraits of historical personages in his villa on Lake Como. A copy of this collection, commissioned by Cosimo I de' Medici, was installed in Palazzo Vecchio, later in the *corridoio* of the Uffizi: "Thanks to the initiative of Cosimo I de' Medici, the memorial collection of Giovio passed from the private domain, shared only by friends and illustrious visitors, to the domain of official public life, of political representation."³ In the same spirit in 1630–37 Cardinal Richelieu had a gallery in the Palais Royal decorated with twenty-five portraits of illustrious men from French history. This same approach is found a century later in England in the Temple of British Worthies erected in the park at Stowe by James Gibbs in 1726–29.

Exemplifying the broad patriotism that was current in England, Westminster Abbey is at once a public space,⁴ a repository of royal sepulchers, and a pantheon to honor the nation's illustrious men. However, the abbey of Saint-Denis in Paris remained almost exclusively a final resting place for royalty, the only exceptions being a few important servants of the crown, such as Du Guesclin and Turenne. The placement of Rysbrack's monument to Newton in the nave of Westminster in 1731 was a signal event: a man of knowledge was given a rank equal to rulers in the nation's memory. As Voltaire wrote, "Go into Westminster Abbey. It is not the tombs of kings that one admires there, but the monuments erected by the gratitude of the nation to the greatest of the men who have contributed to its glory. You will see their statues, as one saw at Athens those of such men as Sophocles and Plato; and I am convinced that the mere sight of these glorious monuments has roused more than one mind and been the making of more than one great man."⁵ In 1738, during Handel's lifetime, a statue of him was raised in London's Vauxhall Gardens, a modern Orpheus for

this public pleasure ground.⁶ Soon after, Roubiliac executed a marble statue of Shakespeare (see cat. no. 1) for his friend David Garrick. The actor placed it in his garden temple that was dedicated to the playwright.

In France the glorification of the nation's past did not follow the same standards. There the weight of royalty was everywhere present: in the *Hommes illustres* of Charles Perrault, one of the historiographers of the reign of Louis XIV, the greatest part of French history was seen through statesmen and soldiers, not philosophers, scientists, writers, and artists. One had to wait for Voltaire to see the notion of the great man vigorously renewed: "You know that in my view the great men are first [in importance], and the heroes last. I call 'great men' all those who have excelled at something useful or pleasant. Pillagers of provinces are mere heroes."⁷ This fundamental distinction underlies the works of this philosopher, whose humanization of history exerted considerable influence during the eighteenth century.⁸ And naturally it was Voltaire whom Pigalle thought of when he created the brilliant royal monument in Reims (cat. no. 52). Abbé de Saint-Pierre followed Voltaire in his *Discours sur les différences du grand homme et de l'homme illustre* (1739), declaring that one becomes a great man only "through singular inner qualities of mind and heart and by producing great benefits to society"—that is, through a "virtuous motive" that is the opposite of the "motives common to those who are only illustrious men."⁹ In 1758 the Académie Française replaced older subjects in its rhetorical competitions with the composition of eulogies for the Great Men of France, thus encouraging a cult which found its Plutarch in the academician Antoine-Léonard Thomas. His *Essai sur les éloges* (1773) named almost all the heroes who would be honored with statues during the reign of Louis XVI, thanks to the efforts of the comte d'Angiviller. The Great Man, indispensable to pedagogy, had to be represented in art: "Sculpture, after history, is the most durable repository of men's virtues and weaknesses. . . . The worthiest goal of sculpture, morally speaking, is therefore to perpetuate the memory of illustrious men."¹⁰ Beginning in 1773, the Roman Pantheon was transformed into a temple of fame, with busts of writers (Winckelmann) and artists (Poussin, Carracci, Mengs).¹¹

When the comte d'Angiviller took office in 1774, with the accession of Louis XVI, "nationalism in the arts"¹² had become entrenched in people's minds. A fundamental issue was the determination of how a great man should be depicted. Pajou had shown Buffon in the antique manner, torso bared, in the "costume of a phi-

losopher.”¹³ Pigalle sculpted Voltaire also divested, with the emaciated body of an old man and the idealized head of a humanist (cat. no. 109). In contrast, d’Angiviller, in his commissions for the marble Great Men of France¹⁴ (cat. nos. 111, 112), had a strong contemporary bias: the subjects had to be shown in the clothing of their own time. Diderot joked, “What do you expect a statue to do with your jacket, your trousers, and your rows of buttons?”¹⁵ but the great majority of the statues follow this rule, as do the statues in the subsequent series intended for the pont de la Concorde (cat. no. 114). Houdon, in a private commission, cleverly depicted Voltaire in a familiar attitude, seated and clothed in a dressing gown, while encircling his head with the classical headband of philosophers (cat. no. 110).

Classical reference nevertheless exerted an irresistible force, above all when it came to the depiction of intellectuals and artists. References to ancient Greek sculptures from Roman collections, showing several types of seated philosophers,¹⁶ served as more or less openly acknowledged models (cat. nos. 113, 115).

“What do you expect me to say to you about clothing? . . . Nude figures . . . never offend us,” declared Diderot. “That is because flesh is more beautiful than the most beautiful drapery.”¹⁷

GS

1. Quoted in Pommier 1998, p. 35. Petrarch wanted to revive the literary genre of the chronicle in praise of the great men, in the manner of Plutarch and the Roman historians.
2. Ibid., p. 26.
3. Ibid., p. 126.
4. Bindman and Baker 1995, pp. 9–23.
5. Voltaire, *Lettres philosophiques* (Paris, 1734); Voltaire, *Philosophical Letters*, trans. Ernest Dilworth (Indianapolis, 1961), p. 111.
6. Statue in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Bilbey 2002, pp. 114–15, ill.).
7. Voltaire, letter to Thiriot, 1735, quoted in Saint Girons 1998, pp. 142–43.
8. Voltaire began his work as a historian of France with his *Siècle de Louis XIV* in 1732 and was named historiographer to the king in 1745.
9. Abbé de Saint-Pierre, *Discours sur les différences du grand homme et de l’homme illustre* (Paris, 1739); quoted in Bonnet 1998, p. 34.
10. Étienne-Maurice Falconet, “Réflexions sur la sculpture” (*Encyclopédie* 1751–80, vol. 14 [1765]; reprinted in Falconet 1808, vol. 3, pp. 2–3).
11. Barroero et Susinno 2002, pp. 191–92. These busts are in the Capitoline Museums.
12. Leith 1972.
13. Pajou’s description in his memoir; see Draper in Paris and New York 1997–98, pp. 280–89.
14. Scherf 1993c.
15. Diderot, *Pensées détachées sur la peinture* (1776; Diderot 1995, p. 445).
16. Clarac 1826–53, vol. 5 (1839–41), pls. 840–49.
17. Diderot, *Essai sur la peinture* (1765; Diderot 1984, pp. 63–64).

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JEAN-BAPTISTE PIGALLE

Paris, 1714–Paris, 1785

Voltaire Nude

Terracotta, 27.1 × 16 × 16.1 cm (10³/₈ × 6¹/₄ × 6³/₈ in.)

Underneath the work: handwritten note on a piece of paper: *maquette donnée par Pigalle à Desfriches en septembre 1766 [sic] [en] même temps que la maquette du citoyen* (maquette given by Pigalle to Desfriches in September 1766 [sic] [at the] same time as the maquette of the citizen [cat. no. 52])
Orléans, Musée des Beaux-Arts (1781)

PROVENANCE

Orléans, Aignan-Thomas Desfriches (1715–1800), connoisseur and friend of Pigalle; probably given to the museum by his daughter, Mme de Limay, about 1825

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1994–95, no. 276, ill.; Frankfurt 1999–2000, no. 83, ill.

REFERENCES

Musée d’Orléans 1876, p. 218, no. 625 (“the philosopher”); Marcille 1878, p. 167 (“the philosopher”); Marquet de Vasselot 1896, pp. 397–400, ill.; Lami 1910–11, vol. 2, p. 252; Rocheblave 1919, p. 277, pl. v; Réau 1936, p. 16; Réau 1950, p. 158, fig. 20; Sauerländer 1963, p. 6, fig. 16; Colton 1980, p. 1684, fig. 3; Gaborit 1985, p. 70, ill.

This terracotta is the sketch for the statue commissioned from Jean-Baptiste Pigalle by seventeen men of letters gathered at the salon of Mme Necker on April 17, 1770. Among the guests were Diderot, d’Alembert, Helvétius, the abbé Raynal, Saint-Lambert, Marmontel, Morellet, Suard, and Grimm (who described the occasion in the *Correspondance littéraire*, May 1770). Contacted no doubt by Raynal, Pigalle had brought a sketch to the dinner. The Orléans museum’s sketch corresponds with Grimm’s description: “The prince of literature [Voltaire] is there seated on a drapery that falls behind him from his left shoulder and envelops the entire back of the body. His head is crowned with laurels [this detail appeared in the plaster model, according to the *Mémoires secrets* of



brought back a rendering of the writer's head in clay and finished the plaster model for the statue in August 1772.

The raising of a statue to a man of letters during his lifetime was altogether exceptional, since it would present a subject on the same footing as a monarch. The statue's realization was closely followed, especially by Voltaire, who was uneasy about the sculptor's decision to represent him nude. After trying to dissuade Pigalle, he changed his mind, writing to Tronchin in a letter of December 1, 1771: "I can only admire the element of antiquity in M. Pigalle's work; naked or clothed is immaterial to me. I shall inspire no improper thoughts in the ladies, however I am presented to them. M. Pigalle must be left absolute master of his statue. It is a crime, where the fine arts are concerned, to put genius in shackles. I beg you to see M. Pigalle immediately, to tell him what I think, to reassure him of my friendship, my gratitude, and my admiration. All I can tell him is that, as far as my opinions are concerned, I was never on the mark except when I listened to myself" (Voltaire, *Correspondance*, vol. 80 [Paris, 1963], no. 16438). The marble was finished in 1776 (fig. 148): at Voltaire's feet are the mask of Thalia (Comedy), the dagger of Melpomene (Tragedy), and the lyre and wreath of the poet. The statue was presented to the writer and then passed to his great-nephew, who installed it after 1785 in his château in the Somme and gave it to the Institut de France in 1807; in 1962 the Institut deposited the statue with the Louvre (Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 2, p. 523).

Pigalle's work provoked controversy. Morellet wrote: "People of taste have generally found fault with the execution. To show his knowledge of anatomy, Pigalle has done a naked and emaciated old man, a skeleton, a flaw barely redeemed by the truth and life that one



109 (profile)

August 4, 1772, but does not in the marble version]; his chest and right thigh, leg, and arm are bare. His right arm hangs at his side, the hand holding a pen. His left arm rests on his left thigh. The whole attitude is one of genius. There is a fire in the head, a sublime character; and if the artist succeeds in transmitting this character to the marble, this statue will immortalize him more than all his earlier works." The piece was in fact executed in marble, paid for by an international subscription. The sculptor asked 10,000 livres, the sum offered later by the comte d'Angiviller for the statues in the Great Men of France series. Pigalle set out for Voltaire's residence at Ferney on May 30, 1771, and stayed there eight days. He



Fig. 148
Pigalle, *Voltaire Nude*, 1776, marble.
Paris, Musée du Louvre

admires in the old man's physiognomy and attitude. It is Diderot who must be blamed for this mistake, for mistake it is. It was he who inspired Pigalle to do an antique statue like the Seneca cutting his veins. Several of us protested in vain, when Pigalle brought the model. I remember having fought hard with both Diderot and Pigalle; but we could not divert them from taking this wrong direction, neither the philosopher nor the artist carried away by the philosopher" (Morellet 1988, p. 175). The *Seneca* in the Borghese collection (now in the Louvre) was a renowned antique sculpture (Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 303–5, no. 76, figs. 160, 161). Diderot, who drew an explicit connection between Voltaire and Seneca in his *Essai sur la vie de Sénèque* of 1779 (see Colton 1980, p. 1684), advised Pigalle to take his inspiration from this antiquity, advocating heroic nudity as a means of representing an illustrious man: "In choosing the nude one distances the scene, one recalls a simpler and more innocent age. . . . The fact is that one is dissatisfied with the present and that this return to the classical past has its appeal for us. . . . It was the custom of the Greeks, our masters in all the fine arts" (Diderot, *Essais sur la peinture*; Diderot 1984, p. 64).

Pigalle, however, did not present a virile, powerful body, like that of the Seneca. He took instead as a model an old soldier, skeletal and flaccid, yet ennobled by a magnificent drapery. Pigalle did not aim to shock—"He had more feeling for the true than the beautiful" (Suard 1786)—but to emphasize the radiant fervor of the head through contrast with the aged body.

The statuette's modeling is similar to that of the *Citizen* (cat. no. 52), also given by the sculptor to his friend Desfriches (on this friendship, see Cuénin 1997, pp. 78–79, 100, 186). Both show the same dynamic assembly of clay pellets laid on together and then worked with the *ébauchoir*. The most notable difference is in the appearance of the back: ignored in the *Citizen*, here it is given a drapery, summarily but magnificently captured by Pigalle's fingers.

JEAN-ANTOINE HOUDON

Versailles, 1741–Paris, 1828

Voltaire Seated

Terracotta (Voltaire) and patinated plaster (the armchair), on a wooden base, H. (Voltaire in chair) 113 cm (44½ in.), H. (with base) 120.4 cm (47½ in.), L. 71 cm (28 in.), W. 93.5 cm (36¾ in.) Montpellier, Musée Fabre (874.1.1)

PROVENANCE

Very probably the copy in the sale of Houdon's studio, October 8, 1795, no. 88: "Voltaire, life-size figure: he is seated in a curule chair. This terracotta is that of the marble figure that adorns the peristyle of the Théâtre-Français. H. 4 *pieds* [129 cm (50¾ in.)]"; acquired by the antique dealer Abraham Fontanel, one of the founders in 1779 of the Société des Beaux-Arts of Montpellier, and its treasurer and custodian of its plaster casts, prints, and drawings; deposited with great ceremony in the Athénée, a private museum set up by Fontanel, on 15 Nivôse of the year XI (January 5, 1803; see *Le moniteur universel* the day after); withdrawn by Fontanel in 1815 and held at his property, Mas de Brousse; bequeathed to the Musée Fabre in 1874 by Fontanel's son-in-law César-Auguste Fages, professor in the faculty of Medicine, Montpellier

REFERENCES

Martin-Choisy 1803, pp. 7–8; Millin 1811, p. 315; Guiffrey 1877, pp. 279–82; E. Michel 1879, p. 194, no. 783; Gonse 1904, p. 266, ill.; Lami 1910–11, vol. 1, p. 425; Musée Fabre 1914, no. 1055; Joubin 1922, *passim*, ill.; Joubin 1926, no. 938; Giacometti 1929, vol. 2, pp. 274–76; Besterman 1957, pp. 149, 156, 158; Sauerländer 1963, pp. 11, 18; Réau 1964, vol. 1, p. 276, vol. 2, p. 19, no. 35B, pl. xxx; Arnason 1975, p. 112 n. 121; Bajou 1989, pp. 28–29, fig. 7; Claparède 1993, pp. 42, 46, 48 n. 4

Paris only

Jean-Antoine Houdon executed his portrait of Voltaire in April 1778 when the latter was in Paris, not long before his death on May 30. On the terracotta's installation in Montpellier on January 5, 1803, the marquis de Villevieille gave a speech in which he spoke of the great man's last sitting: "With much difficulty I prevailed upon M. de Voltaire to accede to M. Houdon's wish, which he had often conveyed to me, to model his statue. At last his consent was secured, the day set, and the times of the sittings fixed; I had to follow him every time he went to the studio . . . the artist having frequently noticed that his model's features expressed nothing but the impatience he was feeling . . . I thought of bringing to the last sitting that M. de Voltaire granted him the crown [of] the day of his triumph at the Comédie Française. . . . I warned M. Houdon that at an agreed-upon signal I would mount the platform on which M. de Voltaire was placed and would suspend the crown over his head; then no doubt, I told him, [his face] will become animated, and you will seize this moment to give [the portrait] the life, wit, and veracity that should animate it,

and that breathe in this masterpiece" (Martin-Choisy 1803, p. 21).

Houdon's Voltaire became widely known through busts in which the philosopher was shown either in contemporary dress or in the antique manner with or without drapery. Before November 8, 1778 (the date of a letter from Grimm to Catherine the Great of Russia telling her the news), he received a commission from Mme Denis, Voltaire's niece, for a marble statue intended for the Académie Française. The sculptor showed his composition at the Salon of 1779 in the form of a bronze statuette, which was sent to the empress (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum; Frankfurt 1999–2000, no. 82, ill.). The editor of the *Lettre sur le Salon* of 1779 in the *Mémoires secrets* wrote: "Here indeed is the old man of Ferney. Wrapped in his dressing gown, he is seated in his armchair, with his hands resting on the arms; he has returned from a walk and is tired, ready for bed. Such is the domestic scene that the author has chosen; yet despite the lassitude of his body, his mind is wide awake, and his sardonic smile reveals the harvest of ridicule that the satirical philosopher has reaped in his latest meditations" (Fort 1999, p. 149). Finally, the marble (133 × 79 × 103 cm [52¾ × 31½ × 40½ in.]) was executed after the large plaster model finished in February 1780 (probably that in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, bearing the inscription: *houdon f.1781*; of exceptional quality, this has remained in what was Houdon's studio); offered in September to the Comédie Française, it was exhibited at the Salon of 1781 (fig. 149). In enlarging the model to monumental size, Houdon accentuated the timeless dignity of the philosopher. Voltaire is "seated in an antique-style chair, draped in a philosopher's mantle, his head bound with the ribbon of immortality" (terms used by the artist in his autograph list of works drawn up about 1794; see Vitry 1907, p. 205, no. 82). This choice was much discussed, some critics regretting that Voltaire was not represented in contemporary clothing. In fact Houdon's *Voltaire Seated* is an interesting example of the "Great Man" series, so popular at the time. It is a subtle synthesis of the innovative statues of Pigalle (*Voltaire Nude*, cat. no. 109) and Pajou (*Buffon*; Paris and New York 1997–98, no. 112, ill.), who gave their models a heroic dimension, and the figures commissioned by the comte d'Angiviller for the Grande Galerie of the Louvre, where historical costume was required (see cat. no. 111). Houdon subsequently made a second version in marble for Catherine II (signed and dated 1781; Saint Petersburg, Hermitage).

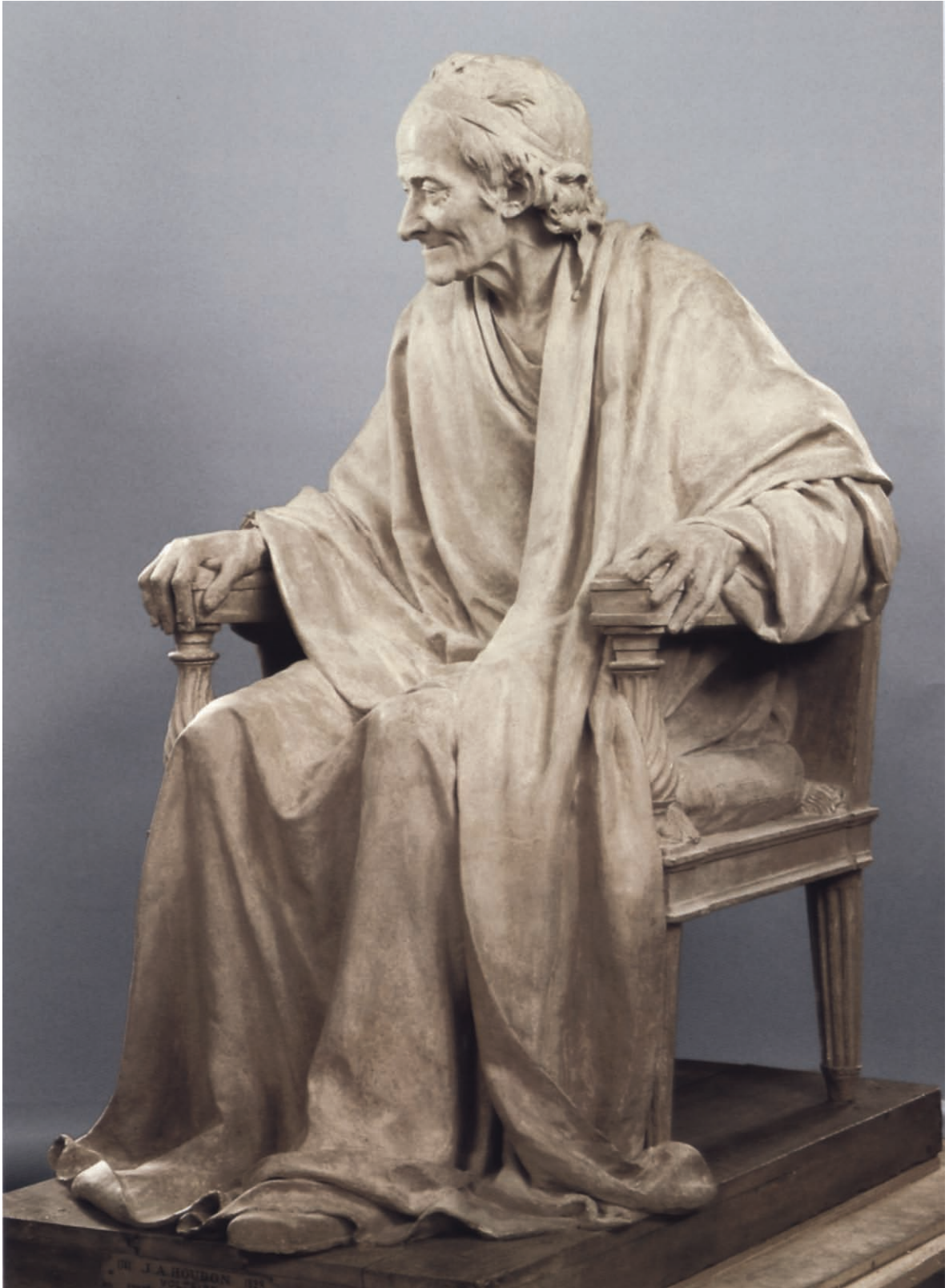
The present version has an old and excellent provenance, being very probably the one mentioned in the sale of the sculptor's studio in 1795. It was considered in 1803 to be "the original terracotta model, life-size, by the celebrated Houdon" (Martin-Choisy 1803, p. 6), a claim repeated by Millin in 1811, E. Michel in 1879, and Gonsse in 1904. In reality it is a hollowed-out terracotta example cast from a mold and retouched by the artist. The work

rests on a base consisting of three dovetailed wooden planks supported by a frame. The armchair, lacking its upper part, is of white plaster covered with a tinted coating; here all four fluted legs are round (the front legs are round and the rear ones quadrangular in the plaster model and the marbles, whose arms also differ). The figure of Voltaire is in terracotta, pinkish brown in color. It is distinctly smaller than the Bibliothèque Nationale plaster and the marbles, owing to the shrinkage of the clay as it dried. Once the raw clay was removed from the mold, it was cut with a wire into several parts, which were placed in the kiln. After firing, the terracotta elements were positioned on the armchair and joined using white mastic, a process during which firing defects could be ameliorated. The head, one of the elements fired separately, was fixed in place with two metal pieces (visible in X ray). A fine white coating and a brick-red patina (now very fragmentary) were applied to the assembly seams, which are visible in a raking light. At an unknown date the whole was given a pinkish color of wash and then covered with a deeper shade (dark brown), apparently to camouflage the worn parts of the earlier coating; when the work was cleaned and consolidated for the present exhibition, this last coat was removed. (My thanks are due to Pascale Klein for this information.)

Houdon's interest in terracotta replicas of his large-scale works was already evident with his *Diana the Huntress*: a version in this medium (no doubt the one now in the Frick Collection, New York) is listed in the sale of his studio in 1795. The fabrication process was similar and no doubt contemporary (in any case during the 1780s): the *Diana* was made by an impression from a mold; the different sections of the statue were fired separately and



Fig. 149
Houdon, *Voltaire Seated*,
1781, marble. Paris,
Comédie-Française



then joined by metal rods; the joins were done with plaster in the studio, and a coat of paint unified the whole (see Hodgkinson 1970, pp. 127–38). Such replicas formed a large part of Houdon's output: his principal statues (*Voltaire Seated*, *Diana*, *La Frileuse*) were executed in great size in plaster, terracotta, marble, bronze, lead, or papier-mâché. The exceptional activity of his studio is evident in every sort of medium—here the terracotta, molded, smoothed, and thickened with layers of color, could almost be taken for tinted plaster. Scrutiny of the present statue, however, reveals careful reworking. These nervous markings, principally on the face and hands, give the work its unique character.

GS

PIERRE JULIEN

Saint-Paulien, 1731–Paris, 1804

Nicolas Poussin

Terracotta, 26 × 15.3 × 20.3 cm (10¼ × 6 × 8 in.)

Annotated: at the back, on the back of the chair, in ink: *Belle Esquisse en terre cuite / de Julien, statuaire / membre de l'Académie royale / et ensuite de l'Institut impérial / Première pensée pour sa / statue du Poussin, exécutée en marbre en 1 . . . / Cabinet de De la Fontaine père* (Fine terracotta sketch / by Julien, sculptor / member of the Académie Royale / and subsequently of the Institut Impérial / First notion for his / statue of Poussin, executed in marble in 1 . . . / Cabinet of De la Fontaine père)

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Sculptures (RF 1364)

PROVENANCE

Probably mentioned "in the cabinet" above the sculptor's studio, cour Carrée du Louvre, in the inventory taken after his death, among "four models, figures of the Poussin . . . in all twenty-two very small models, one in wax, fourteen in terracotta, and seven in plaster" (8 Pluviôse, year XIII [January 28, 1805]; Pascal 1904, p. 149); his sale, March 19, 1805, no. 28; Pierre-Maximilien Delafontaine; his sale, Paris, February 6, 1861, no. 84; Albert Merat, poet and librarian of the Senate; his gift, 1903

EXHIBITION

Duisburg, Karlsruhe, Gotha, and Paris 1989–90, no. 60, ill.

REFERENCES

Pascal 1904, p. 149; Lami 1910–11, vol. 2, p. 15; Furcy-Raynaud 1927, p. 172; Réau 1936, pp. 21–22; Worley 1988, p. 197, no. 31d; Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 2, p. 445, ill.

Pierre Julien exhibited a marble statue representing Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665) in the Salon of 1804 (no. 642; fig. 150). The subject was described in the *livret*: "the custom in Rome, when the weather is hot, is to sleep with nothing on. Poussin is imagined as being preoccupied with the composition of his beautiful painting *The Testament of Eudamidas* [see cat. no. 65]. A good idea has come to him during the night, and he has risen in haste to set it down, content to wrap himself up in his cloak." The plaster model had been shown in the Salon of 1789 (no. 228): "The author imagines this celebrated painter leaving his bed to draw a composition that he has been pondering all night." The work had been commissioned in 1787 by the comte d'Angiviller, director of the Bâtiments du Roi, to form part of the Great Men of France, the series planned for the Grande Galerie of the Louvre, the future museum (Furcy-Raynaud 1927, pp. 171–72; Paris 1989, no. 1078, ill.); hence the present sketch must date from 1787 or 1788. The marble was the only one devoted to an artist to be executed (the May 1792 project for statues of Le Brun and Puget was not realized). As with Stouf's *Montaigne*, realized under the Directoire, this work was in the most strongly Neoclassical style. Casting Poussin as an insomniac allowed Julien to show



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him draped in the antique manner with his arms and legs bare. Poussin's long hair conforms with the known self-portraits. At his side is a two-headed term showing Minerva and Mercury, a reference to one of his pictures (*Children's Bacchanalia*, private collection; engraved; Thuillier 1974, no. 27, ill.).

Julien valued his statue of Poussin and kept several sketches and models of it. The inventory of his studio after his death listed a "very small figure, model in plaster" and "four models, figures of the Poussin," as well as "twenty-two very small models, one in wax, fourteen in terracotta, and seven in plaster" (8 Pluviôse, year XIII [January 28, 1895]; Pascal 1904, p. 149).

The clean, rapid modeling of the present statuette, with everything confidently in its place, is characteristic of Julien. The full, weighty folds of the garment are already present, as well as the curling hair that covers the nape of the neck; the swelling of the arms and calf evoke muscles and palpitating flesh; the painter's gaze is precisely focused. On the two-headed term Mercury is already conjured up (recognizable by his winged helmet), while Minerva remains to be finished (her unarticulated face is framed by curls). The painter's expression, joyous and inspired, became more thoughtful in the marble. There Julien added the painter's attributes—the palette and brushes, the maulstick that serves as a handrest—and engraved on the plaque, which is blank in the sketch, the scene of the *Testament of Eudamidas* (see cat. no. 65). The most important difference between the two sculptures, however, lies in the subject's support: in the marble version Poussin sits on a simulated wooden chest, which allows for a lovely fall of drapery down his back; in the terracotta sketch he sits in an armchair, which has a venthole in back and two others in front and an illegible inscription inside a half-incised enframement. It is probable that the chair, with the figure, was modeled separately and then placed on the base's smoothed top, the part below being left uneven (holes visible on the piece would have allowed for the manipulation of the unfired clay by rods pushed into the interior). The piece has some firing cracks, especially under the armchair. The very pale terracotta has a beautiful, particularly velvety pink slip. GS



Fig. 150
Julien, *Nicolas Poussin*, Salon of 1804, marble.
Paris, Musée du Louvre

JEAN-BAPTISTE STOUF

Paris, 1742–Charenton-le-Pont, 1826

Saint Vincent de Paul

Terracotta, 46.7 × 22 × 24.2 cm (18½ × 8½ × 9½ in.)

Minneapolis Institute of Arts (70.15)

PROVENANCE

Acquired in London in 1970 (The John R. Van Derlip Fund)

REFERENCE

Parsons 1970, pp. 54–55, ill.

In 1786, a year after he was admitted to the Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture, Jean-Baptiste Stouf received a commission from the comte d'Angiviller, director of the Bâtiments du Roi, for a statue representing Saint Vincent de Paul (1581–1660). This was to be one of the Great Men of France, the series planned for the Louvre's Grande Galerie (Furcy-Raynaud 1927, pp. 349–53). The plaster model was exhibited at the Salon of 1787 (no. 263) with the following notice: "In returning from one of his missions, Saint Vincent de Paul saw a soldier mutilating one of his abandoned children in the hopes of receiving greater alms when he put the child to begging. He accosted the soldier and said: 'From a distance I thought I saw a man, and I was mistaken.' He took the victim away and went to the rue Saint-Landry, where children of this kind were left. There, contemplating these innocent creatures, he conceived the idea of founding the Hôpital des Enfants-Trouvés [foundling asylum], which owes its establishment to his eloquence and charity." Canonized in 1737, Vincent de Paul was, with Bossuet—whom he welcomed into his priory at Saint-Lazare as a candidate for the priesthood—one of the few religious personalities to be chosen by d'Angiviller to illustrate the glory of France. Vincent de Paul's attempts to alleviate the most fundamental human ills—poverty and sickness—and to protect abandoned children found support among the readers of Diderot and Rousseau and more generally with those of Enlightened sensibilities. The saint was prominent in the Church hierarchy and was well connected to government powers, circumstances that recommended him to d'Angiviller.

The present terracotta is the small model of the composition. Monsieur Vincent, as he was known, approaches, discovering in despair two abandoned babies, who have died. His arms are parted in stupefaction, and he kneels to pick the bodies up. Reports of the Salon of 1787 indicate that Stouf's plaster model was similar to this composition.

Reception of the present work at the Salon of 1787 was almost unanimously negative: "On the base the artist

has placed two abandoned children, in whose lot Saint Vincent de Paul shows his concern with a touching sensitivity; but I do not know why M. Stouf has represented the saint on his knees; that does not express the character of active charity; nor do I know why the children are not grouped at the feet of the figure. Finally, I fear that the head is not on the body and that there are passages of dryness" (*L'année littéraire*); "The head has plenty of expression, but the pose of the body is so vague that one cannot tell whether he is standing or kneeling" (Dulaure, *Critique des quinze critiques du Salon*; McWilliam, Schuster, and Wrigley 1991, p. 92, no. 424); he is "in an indecisive attitude, so that one looks in vain to see if he is on his knees, if he is kneeling, or if he has the intention of rising in order to add to the benefits he has lavished on humanity" (Antoine-Joseph Gorsas, *La plume du Coq de Micille; ou, Aventures de Critès au Sallon*; McWilliam, Schuster, and Wrigley 1991, p. 94, no. 440); "This founder of the Enfants Trouvés is quite a good likeness; but doesn't that laugh with the eyes lowered give him something of a hypocritical look? And can two children whom I see flung ignominiously at his feet, in a position of suffering, arouse that laugh in this holy man? The sight is one to sadden every human spectator. I would not forgive the artist if he does not change this arrangement" (Robin, *L'ami des artistes au Sallon*; McWilliam, Schuster, and Wrigley 1991, p. 91, no. 419).

The hostility of the commentators convinced the artist to abandon the concept, and he developed another plaster model, no doubt preceded by the small terracotta in Viviers (fig. 151). In a letter of May 23, 1797, addressed to Bénézech, the minister of the interior, Stouf said that the plaster "represented this great man receiving under his cloak two abandoned infants, pitying their lot and contemplating the project of those immortal establishments he had founded." Stouf unfortunately delayed in



Fig. 151
Stouf, *Saint Vincent de Paul*,
terracotta, about 1797. Viviers
(Ardèche), Seminary



Fig. 152
Stouf, *Saint Vincent de Paul*, 1798, marble.
Paris, Hôpital Saint-Vincent-de-Paul



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transferring the plaster to marble, and in the same letter he declared that it had been “completely smashed” in his studio “during the tyranny of revolutionary vandalism.” He asked the government to renew the commission for the marble, “the destruction of his model [being] in no way an obstacle for his achieving the glory he has promised himself from a task on which he has long reflected” (Furcy-Raynaud 1927, pp. 351–52). The request was granted, and the marble statue was exhibited at the Salon of 1798 (no. 546) with this notice: “Vincent de Paul, founder of the Hospices des Enfants-Trouvés, considered as a philosopher” (fig. 152).



112 (reverse)

The saint’s frozen gesture has been changed into one of infinite tenderness, as he gathers a child to his breast to warm and restore him to life. His lowered head and look filled with sadness are matched by the bent knee and above all the desolate hand that establishes the death of the second little victim. The sculpture, full of humility and affection, is very different from the glorious image of the saint that Natoire painted in about 1750 in the chapel of the Enfants Trouvés (Duclaux 1971, p. 48, fig. 14, an engraving by Fessard, the original having been destroyed in the nineteenth century).

Plaster versions of the composition are found in sev-

eral Parisian churches. These, as well as the small terracotta in the seminary at Viviers (fig. 151) are faithful reflections of this superb allegory of beneficence, as the *Saint Vincent de Paul* exhibited by Stouf at the end of his career, at the Salon of 1817 (no. 904), probably was.

The present terracotta, modeled with the straightforward boldness characteristic of the artist, is a valuable document. It preserves a memory of the first composition that Stouf created for this important royal commission and attests to his ability to correct his shortcomings. He returned to his subject and transformed a melodramatic and almost powerless spectator into a man who brings help and hope.

gs

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JEAN-GUILLAUME MOITTE

Paris, 1746–Paris, 1810

Monument to Jean-Jacques Rousseau

Terracotta, 34 × 19 × 19 cm (13⅜ × 7½ × 7½ in.)

Inscribed: on the front of the base, incised before firing: 1412
Paris, Musée Carnavalet (S 3314)

PROVENANCE

Executed as part of the competition initiated by the decree of 5 Floréal in the year II (April 24, 1794), registered the 10 Prairial (May 29) under the no. 1412 (AN D* XXXVc¹; register of the committee of inspectors of the Salle de la Convention): “C[itizen] Moitte has deposited a statue of j. j. rousseau contemplating the First [Steps] of Infancy”; artist’s collection; sale after the death of his wife, Mme Moitte, Paris, August 20–21, 1807, no. 52: “Jean-Jacques Rousseau, contemplating the plan of his work *Émile*, studies the first steps of infancy”; Edmond Hédouin (1820–1889), before 1855; his sale, Paris, April 15, 1889, no. 617; acquired at this sale by Henri Rouart (d. 1912); gift of the Société des Amis du Musée Carnavalet, 1953

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1878, no. 535 (Houdon); Paris 1981, no. 130, ill.; Paris 1989, no. 1123, ill.

REFERENCES

Montaignon and Duplessis 1855, p. 340 (Houdon); Jouin 1879, p. 115 (Houdon); Vitry 1912, pp. 107–9, ill. (Moitte); Buffenoir 1913, pp. 220–23, pl. 47; Réau 1929, pp. 25–26; Montgolfier 1953, pp. 2–4, ill.; “Acquisitions” 1973, p. 32, ill.; Campbell 1982, pp. 138–42, fig. 21; Gramaccini 1993, vol. 1, pp. 115–23, vol. 2, p. 86, no. 201, figs. 293, 294

The death of Jean-Jacques Rousseau in 1778 immediately gave rise to discussions about a proper memorial. In his *Discours sur les sciences et les arts* (1750) the philosopher himself had written: “Our gardens are adorned with statues and our Galleries with paintings. What would you think these masterpieces of art, exhibited for public

admiration, represent? The defenders of the Fatherland? or those even greater men who have enriched it by their virtues?” (Rousseau, *Discourse on the Sciences and Art [First Discourse] and Polemics*, trans. Judith R. Bush, Roger D. Masters, and Christopher Kelly, vol. 2 of *The Collected Writings of Rousseau* [Hanover and London, 1992], p. 18; Bonnet 1998, p. 209). La Harpe proposed erecting a monument: “a group in which the eloquent Genevan would be crowned by the hands of a child held up toward him by the mother, while he smiled at another woman nursing her baby; and perhaps I would surround him with a chorus of children amusing themselves with all the games they play at that age” (quoted by Grammacini 1989, p. 893). It was not until the revolutionary period, however, that the project began to take shape. Images of Rousseau had indeed been disseminated by Houdon, who had taken Rousseau’s death mask and who circulated busts of him both in the antique style and in contemporary costume, wearing a wig and formal dress. But the realization of a monument depended on an organization dedicated to this task.

On February 12, 1790, the journal *Les Révolutions de Paris* proposed the opening of a subscription and the regular publication of the names of the subscribers. Moitte’s name occurs in March and again in May (Campbell 1982, p. 115), evidence of an early interest in the subject. On December 21 the Assemblée Nationale decreed “that there shall be erected a statue to the author of *Émile* and the *Contrat Social* bearing this inscription: “la Nation Française libre, à J.-J. Rousseau” [the free French nation, to J.-J. Rousseau]. On the pedestal shall be engraved the motto [of the author]: *vitam impedere vero* [see cat. no. 57]” (Buffenoir 1913, p. 227). Since Houdon owned Rousseau’s death mask (he had taken the impression one day after Rousseau’s death), he claimed to hold the exclusive right to realize a monument in his honor, but he did not prevail. Finally, on 5 Floréal of the year II (April 24, 1794) “the Committee of Public Safety,



Fig. 153
Jean-François Lorta, *Project of a Monument to Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 1794, terracotta. Vizille (Isère), Musée de la Révolution Française



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in execution of a decree of the Constituent Assembly, which orders a bronze statue to J. J. Rousseau, [calls on] all the artists of the Republic to compete for this monument, which will be placed in the Champs-Élysées." Twenty-five models were submitted. Houdon took part with two models and a description of a project based on *Émile* (Réau 1964, vol. 1, p. 68). The works were exhibited at the Louvre for a year before the Jury des Arts decided on 28 Pluviôse of the year III (February 16, 1795) to award the prize to Moitte. The latter placed high hopes on the commission. In 1796 he was told to use marble rather than bronze for reasons of cost (marble blocks were available) and durability (the Revolution had

shown how susceptible metal was to being melted down and reused; documents published by Grammacini 1993, vol. 1, pp. 272–74). But his work went no further than the execution of a large model in plaster. In 1798 the Directoire asked François Massop to come up with a new monument, destined for the Jardin des Tuileries; it too was never executed.

Moitte had perhaps planned reliefs for the pedestal (drawings for the pedestal, not described and now lost, were sold at his wife's sale, August 20–21, 1807, no. 22). In that case the work must have stood on a pedestal decorated with narrative reliefs, as did Jean-François Lorta's competition model (fig. 153; Bordes and Chevalier 1996,

pp. 183–86, no. 46). Lorta shows the writer in an open shirt and a dressing gown, seated and reading; the emblems around him (the bonnet of Liberty, crossed pikes, a triangle) evoke a political Rousseau, precursor of the Revolution. Avoiding these references, Moitte created a simple image: Rousseau contemplating the scheme of his work *Émile*; ou, *De l'éducation* while observing a little boy's first steps. The book, published in 1762, had been condemned for its lax religious attitudes by the Parlement of Paris and had earned its author a long exile. The monument makes no reference to the antilibertarian intolerance that had caused the philosopher so much suffering but focuses on his message: "It is in the midst of the Champs-Élysées, that meeting ground for the innocent pleasures of the young, of mothers of families and their children, that the National Convention has wished to place the legislator of education, the benefactor of childhood" (*Mercury de France* 15 [March 1795], pp. 40–41). Rousseau's upper body, draped in a toga, recalls the Belvedere Torso. At the threshold of independence, the little boy is naked and free; unfettered, he is as close as he can be to nature, which is evoked on the rear by a copy (now fragmentary) of the *Diana of Ephesus*. Reference to antiquity and experience guide the natural man. Rousseau the philosopher, apotheosized in the Roman manner, is represented by Moitte with an anatomical realism influenced by that of Pigalle, his master. The cautious child, whose hand is placed confidently on the adult's thigh, forms a striking contrast with the massive, powerful man. Moitte is repeating here the bold composition which had characterized his representation of Cassini, a Great Man commissioned by the comte d'Angiviller, the plaster model of which was shown at the Salon of 1789 (Paris 1992a, p. 284, fig. 147). But here the dialogue with the child gives the work a less austere touch: Rousseau, idealized by his toga, is at the same time humanized by his attentiveness as a teacher. One becomes a great man "only by the inner qualities of the mind and heart and by the great benefits one obtains for society" (Abbé de Saint-Pierre, *Discours sur les différences du grand homme et de l'homme illustre* [1739]; quoted by Bonnet 1998, p. 34).

The group is among Moitte's masterpieces. The modeling of the two bodies, muscular and lean for Rousseau, soft and rounded for the child, is confident and precise. The skin is lightly scored with small strokes to suggest its texture. The hair, like the faces, is rapidly sketched with an *ébauchoir*. The hands, tooled with a knife, are admirably done, both that of the writer holding his pen suspended above sheets of paper and that of the child supporting himself trustingly on the man's thigh. The lowered heads of the two protagonists, seized in the action, bring tension and monumental power to this masterly composition.

GS

JOSEPH-CHARLES MARIN

Paris, 1759–Paris, 1834

Tourville

Terracotta, 41.3 × 20.3 × 16.5 cm (16¼ × 8 × 6½ in.)
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1987.153)

PROVENANCE

M. Ducos; sale, Paris, Doctor P., November 26–28, 1840, no. 40 (printed: "from the cabinet of M. Ducos"); London, Eliot Hodgkin (1905–1987), before 1964; sale, London, Christie's, April 9, 1987, no. 92, ill.; London, art market; gift of Mrs. Herbert N. Straus, by exchange, 1987

EXHIBITION

London 1968a, no. 812, fig. 360

REFERENCES

Quinquenet 1948, p. 41; Réau 1964, vol. 2, p. 18, no. 34, p. 78; Draper 1991, p. 98, ill.; Draper 1991–92, pp. 46–47, ill.; Paris 1992b, pp. 19, 67, ill. p. 68

This brilliant and dynamic statuette is a sketch for one of the statues that in Paris under the Restoration stood on the pont de la Concorde, renamed the pont Louis XVI. Joseph-Charles Marin received the commission for the *Tourville* in 1816, after losing favor after the fall of the Empire because of his ties to Lucien Bonaparte. This unexpected commission was an important one. The total payment amounted to 20,000 francs: 4,000 for the small model, 6,000 for the half-size plaster model, 4,000 for the pointing, and 6,000 for completing the work, the block of marble being furnished by the administration (Leroy-Jay Lemaistre in Musée du Louvre 2002, p. 80).



Fig. 154
Marin, *Tourville*, 1827, marble.
Tourville-sur-Sienne (Manche)



Fig. 155
Houdon, *Tourville*, 1781,
marble. Musée National du
Château de Versailles



Fig. 156
Henri-Victor Roguier,
Duquesne, 1816–17, terracotta.
Private collection



114 (reverse)

The idea of lining the pont de la Concorde with statues of famous military men went back to the Revolution. As early as 1782 the architect Perronet had envisaged decorating the structure with pyramids and then with lampposts on the twelve stone blocks of the parapets. In a speech to the National Assembly in 1792 Mopinot proposed installing the standing figures from comte d'Angiviller's Great Men of France series (Poisson 1976–77, p. 174). Nothing was done, and it was eighteen years before another project was conceived. On January 8, 1810, Napoleon decided to place on the piers of the bridge eight statues of contemporary generals killed in battle. Five were actually realized, but too late to be installed. Such an ensemble dedicated to the glory of the Empire was rejected under the Restoration, which settled on a fresh program. Twelve new commissions were given out following a decree on February 14, 1816: four ministers, four generals, and four admirals were to illustrate the glories of the nation's past. Tourville—Anne-Hilarion de Cotentin, comte de Tourville (1642–1701)—was among the admirals, together with Duguay-Trouin, Duquesne, and Suffren. Several of these heroes had already had statues erected to them in the reign of Louis XVI: “Beyond Napoleon's series of generals, the government of the Restoration took up again, logically, the comte d'Angiviller's undertaking” (Poisson 1976–77, p. 182). The marble statues were finished in June 1827, and the *Tourville* (signed and dated 1827) was installed in June 1830. A book was published in 1828 to mark this occasion, with



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a biography of each individual and an illustration (for *Tourville*, see Frémy 1828, pp. 39–41, fig. 8). The effect of the whole, known from paintings and engravings (for example, Canella's picture in the Musée Carnavalet; Hargrove 1989, ill. p. 70), was, however, regarded as a disaster. The statues were each about four meters (over thirteen feet) high (“twelve *pieds* high,” according to Miel 1818, p. 387), rising about ten meters (nearly thirty-three feet) from the ground. Each had its back to the Seine, the ensemble forming an extremely oppressive

guard of honor. In 1832 Louis-Philippe decided to place the marbles in the main courtyard of the château of Versailles. They were installed there in 1836 (Hargrove 1989, ill. pp. 72–73), before being dispersed throughout France in 1931. *Tourville* was sent to Tourville-sur-Sienne in the Cotentin (near Coutances), the hero's birthplace, where it stands to this day in front of the town hall (fig. 154).

Tourville was one of the celebrities of Louis XIV's armed forces. Knight of Malta, ship's captain at twenty-four, lieutenant general of the naval armies in 1682, he covered himself with glory in different actions, in particular fighting alongside Duquesne, with whom he was often associated. The two had been singled out as "Great Men" by d'Angivillers: Tourville was sculpted by Jean-Antoine Houdon (1781, marble; Salon of 1781; today at Versailles; Hoog 1993, p. 352, no. 1647, ill.) and Duquesne by Martin-Claude Monot (marble; Salon of 1787, also at Versailles; Hoog 1993, p. 133, no. 545, ill.). Both looking to their left, the Houdon and Monot statues were not conceived as pendants; in the later works by Marin and Henri-Victor Roguier, Tourville turns to his right and Duquesne to his left, thus facing one another on the pont Louis XVI (Poisson 1976–77, p. 185; Hargrove 1989, ill. p. 68).

The composition of the Marin statue differs from that of the Houdon (fig. 155). The latter represents a "moment chosen . . . sublime" (Diderot, *Salon of 1781*; Diderot 1995, p. 357): Tourville is listening to the king's letter which orders him into battle, a command he obeys despite a presentiment of defeat (in fact, at La Hougue in 1692 the English and Dutch routed the French fleet). Marin did not repeat this dynamic, even imperious vision but represented the admiral in a calm albeit vigilant attitude. He is solidly planted on his legs in a distinct contrapposto. His left arm rests on the wheel; his left hand grasps the baton of command firmly, and his right hand brandishes his sword (only its hilt survives in both the terracotta and the marble). His assurance is buoyed by the sea breeze that ruffles his hair and jabot. The back is magnificently handled, the full folds of the cloak falling on cannon and cannonballs, the whole underlined by the prow of the ship.

The terracotta sketch was finished some three months after the commission was received in February 1816 (Quinquenet 1948, p. 41). The composition was faithfully transferred to the small plaster model of the same dimensions (H. 42 cm [16½ in.]; sale, Paris, Palais Galliera, March 4, 1961, no. 59, ill.), which must have paved the way for the half-size plaster model. Announced in the *livret* of the Salon of 1817 (no. 872) but not exhibited (Miel 1818, p. 394), this plaster was shown at the following Salon, that of 1819 (no. 1355). All the details, especially those of the costume, were noted in the present terracotta sketch: plumed hat, sash impressively crossing the mostly open jacket, gatherings of the shirt beneath the

waistcoat, breeches tied with ribbons, low boots—the outfit of a man of the court setting off a youthful silhouette. The work is full of brio, and one senses the sculptor's happiness in crushing the balls of clay, plunging his fingers to knead it well and to play with contrasting effects, then cutting it with a knife, scoring it with a pointing tool, and leveling and smoothing the surface with a spatula. The back Marin left completely in the rough. The balls of clay were rapidly pressed with thumb and spatula in order to create a crude outline of the forms (plumes of the hat, silhouette of the figure, tip of the helm, cannon). The fall of the cloak, so full and elegant in the marble, is here hardly more than a mass of clay merging with the base. Comparison with the terracotta sketch of the Duquesne, which has recently reappeared (fig. 156; sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, December 9, 2002, no. 98, ill.), shows the clear stylistic differences between the two sculptors. Roguier, in his theatrical figure inspired by Houdon's *Tourville* (the sketch was, in fact, attributed to Houdon by Réau in 1964), has leveled and smoothed his clay, suppressing some details with a view to unifying the form. Marin, on the other hand, chose to break up his surface with energetic accents, commas, incisions, and reworkings, which cause the statuette to sparkle and give it a seductive air of swagger. The back of the *Duquesne* is more finished than that of the *Tourville*, with each element carefully set in place. By contrast, Marin's statuette is a sketch bearing witness to the first fires of inspiration. GS

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PIERRE-JEAN DAVID D'ANGERS

Angers, 1788–Paris, 1856

Talma Reflecting on a Role

Terracotta, 44 × 19.5 × 32 cm (17¾ × 7¾ × 12¾ in.)

Inscribed: at left: *David 1837*; in front: *Talma*

Angers, Galerie David d'Angers (MBA 842-6)

PROVENANCE

Given to the city of Angers by the artist, who authorized its consignment to the museum in a letter to Mercier of July 18, 1842 (Jouin 1885, p. 104)

EXHIBITIONS

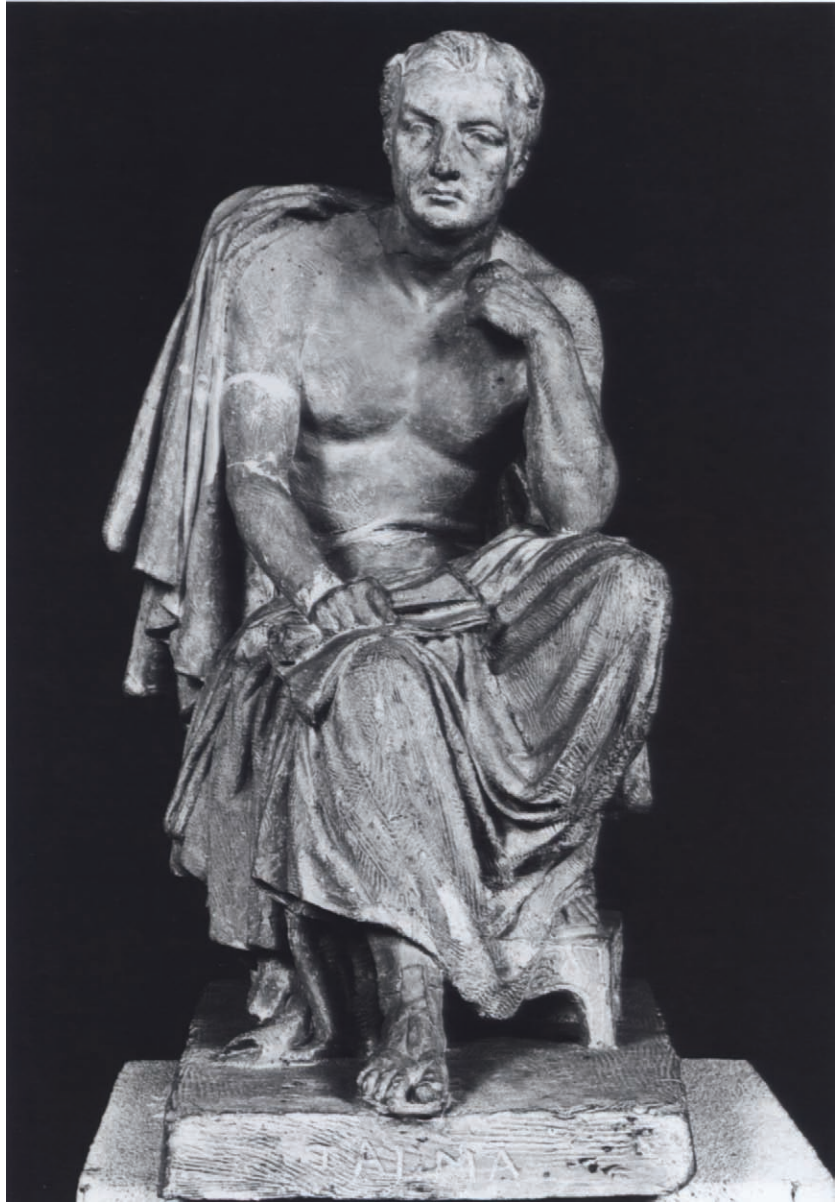
Paris 1900, no. 1596; London 1972a, no. 292, pl. 64; Saint-Rémy-les-Chevreuse 1990, no. 24

REFERENCES

Jouin 1870, p. 179, no. 173; Jouin 1878, vol. 2, p. 484; Jouin 1885, p. 104; Chesneau and Metzger 1934, p. 81, no. 89; Huchard 1984, p. 123; Bresc-Bautier and Pinget 1986, vol. 2, p. 149, ill.



Fig. 157
David d'Angers, *Talma*,
about 1827, graphite. Angers,
Musée des Beaux-Arts



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Fig. 158
David d'Angers, *Talma*,
about 1827, graphite. Angers,
Musée des Beaux-Arts

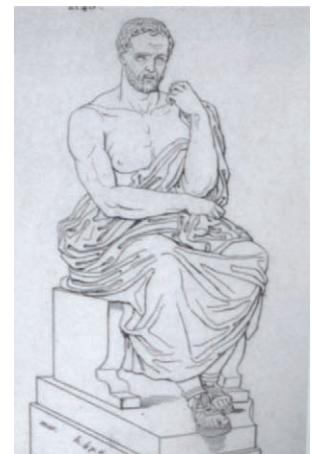


Fig. 159
Philosopher, engraving after
the antique, from Clarac
1826–55, vol. 5, pl. 840c

The tragedian François-Joseph Talma (1763–1825), celebrated almost from his debut at the Comédie-Française in 1787, was Napoleon's favorite actor. The day after his death a national subscription for a monument for his grave was launched by the newspaper *La Pandore*. A commission was established, and on November 6, 1826, Baron Taylor announced that the statue would instead be given to the Comédie-Française. The subscription was a great success. David d'Angers, who had seen the actor on his deathbed, was selected. The sculptor would have agreed to forgo his fee, but the commission insisted on giving him a symbolic payment (Bresc-Bautier and Pinget 1986, vol. 2, pp. 148–49). The large plaster model was exhibited in the Salon of 1827 (no. 1084). In 1837 it was given to the city of Angers by the sculptor, who proposed placing it in the foyer of a theater there (in 1845 he regretted it was not in his own museum, where it is today). The definitive version, in Pyrenees marble, was shown in the Salon of 1837 (no. 1898) under the title "Talma Reflecting on a Role." Sold to the Théâtre-Français in Paris, it was installed there alongside Houdon's *Voltaire Seated* (see cat. no. 110). In 1848 the marble was put in storage, then moved to the Jardin des Tuileries in 1852. It returned to the Comédie-Française for good in 1864.

Talma is represented in the antique manner. In his roles he favored dressing like the ancients, often after documentary research. "Rightly or wrongly it was said by the public that Talma never decided to play a part without having consulted the monuments of antiquity in the library; it was added that when he had done his costume studies and made his choice, he would go and have them approved by [the painter Jacques-Louis] David" (Delécluze 1855, p. 22). The composition was prepared in a large number of drawn studies, all of them in the Musée d'Angers. David first represented the actor standing, amply draped though with his torso bare, reading a sheet of paper, in a variety of attitudes: the left arm enveloped in fabric (MBA 604.3) or quite free, leaving—or not—the right leg uncovered, the mask of Tragedy at his feet (MBA 604.1 with two sketches; MBA 604.5 with seven sketches, one of which is an early concept of Talma seated). To these well-documented sheets (Jouin 1908, p. 291, nos. 109–11) must be added several other sketches on two sheets classified by Jouin in album MBA 364 under the name "Corneille" (nos. 88 and 89, the annotation "Corneille" being apocryphal; fig. 157). David subsequently modified his composition in favor of a seated Talma, still dressed in the antique manner, with his face in profile resting on one hand (MBA 604.4) or fixed in a frontal view (MBA 604.6). Then, in a final drawing (MBA 604.2; fig. 158), he settled on his composition

(Jouin 1908, p. 291, nos. 112–14): bare torso, sheets of paper on the knees, drapery on one shoulder, legs covered. The sculptor was probably influenced by an antique statue of a philosopher such as that published by Pierre Clarac in his *Musée de sculpture antique et moderne* (fig. 159; Clarac 1826–53, vol. 5, pl. 840c). For the head of Talma, David d'Angers no doubt drew on the portrait painted by Picot in 1822, engraved by Lignon (France 1974–76, no. 98). As conceived by David, the actor is shown in no particular role but preparing his roles in general. The work is more sober and less declamatory than *Talma in the Role of Leonidas* exhibited by Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Debay in the Salon of 1827 (Château de Ferrières-en-Brie).

The present terracotta statuette, like the large plaster version, bears the date (1837) of the marble sculpture. It is conceivable that it was a reduction made in the studio when the marble was being executed. In 1878 Jouin (1878, vol. 2, p. 484) indicated that the "maquette in plaster" was still in the possession of Robert David, son of the artist. According to the same author (Jouin 1885, p. 104), Mme David in 1869 authorized the making of a mold of the terracotta (which bears numerous traces of plaster) in order to issue no more than three plaster impressions of it. Several plaster casts are known today (for example, in the Angers and Carnavalet museums), as well as a bronze with the same dimensions (H. 43 cm [16 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.], with a marble base; Monte Carlo 1980, no. 35, ill.; sale, Paris, May 13, 1997, no. 141, ill.).

The work is one of David d'Angers's strongest creations. There is a real congruity between the person represented and his costume: Talma is impregnated with the antique. The face with its determined expression, the powerful torso, the drapery placed in a casual manly fashion on the shoulder and handsomely arranged over the legs—all these convey an impressive authority. The arms' symmetry—one lowered to the knee with the hand holding papers, the other raised toward the chin to reinforce the pensive attitude—is a fine plastic invention, evoking an actor's gesture: "One can learn to draw correctly, but one cannot learn feeling in the arts. The actor can learn to gesticulate, but a Talma creates a pantomime and expressions that he has found in his soul. It is his individuality that he puts on display, a new emphasis that grips everyone, every spectator" (David d'Angers; see Bruel 1958, vol. 2, p. 281).

The terracotta, beige pink in color, was soberly modeled. A toothed pointing tool was used to score the surface, especially of the drapery, a practice seen in other terracottas by the artist. The work has suffered some damage, and breaks have been repaired with plaster.

GS

Funerary Sculpture

Every aspiring Neoclassical sculptor expected to win commissions for tomb sculpture. Few would have spurned the opportunity to demonstrate ability at orchestrating the various components of a tomb and investing them with appropriate sobriety and pathos, in much the same spirit that they prepared monuments to famous men. In his survey of funerary sculpture, Erwin Panofsky denigrates all that came after Bernini; the only Neoclassical productions to find favor with him, because of their originality, were those of Canova and Sergel: "On the whole, . . . all those who came after Bernini were caught in a dilemma—or, rather, trilemma—between pomposity, sentimentality, and deliberate archaism. He who attempts to write the history of eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and twentieth-century art must look for his material outside the churches and outside the cemeteries."¹

This exclusion can be challenged on a number of fronts. First, the disappearance or relocation of tombs, throughout France in particular, seriously skews the evidence. Second, the generations after Panofsky may well have reached a state in which "pomposity, sentimentality, and deliberate archaism" can be enjoyed if the objects in question are well crafted and well thought through. Third, and perhaps most obvious, the best of these monuments, when at their most rigorously streamlined, bridge the vast gap between antiquity and modernism.

The greatness of Bernini's formal accomplishments in tombs, and those of Algardi, for that matter, is undeniable. Their inventions were taken up time and again by later Baroque and early Neoclassical sculptors as Berninesque designs found new applications particularly in France and Britain. Marvelously dramatic rhetorical creations resulted, from the followers of Le Brun to Pigalle in France, from Roubiliac to Banks in Britain. These last are noteworthy for the freedom of their imagery within correct compositional limits. The dead could rise from their coffins, they could converse with one another or with allegorical attendants, or they could be shown at the moment of death, falling from their horses or permanently frozen on the field of battle.² English tombs were highly regarded in their time, and prints and drawings after Roubiliac rendered his well known across Europe. Nowhere were tombs more eagerly discussed than in France of the Enlightenment, where models for them were shown at the Salon and their details dissected by a highly critical intelligentsia.³

It is true enough that in Rome before Canova, tomb sculpture had gotten fairly perfunctory and stagnant, even in the hands of a gifted lapidary such as Pietro

Bracci. When Canova arrived in 1779, two sculptors from whom much was expected had long passed from the scene. Johannes Wiedewelt resettled in Copenhagen in 1758 and Innocenzo Spinazzi in Florence in 1769. In the tomb of King Frederik V of Denmark in Roskilde (1769), Wiedewelt, who took the precepts of Winckelmann most intensely to heart, applies a Grecian severity to the triangulated forms leading up to a column.⁴ Spinazzi's monument to Niccolò Machiavelli in Santa Croce, Florence (about 1783), has a wonderfully grave and chaste manner; its overall structure, again loosely pyramidal, is lightened and broken up by the curves of the allegorical lass who sits on top.⁵ Canova would force the pyramid into an ever more straightforwardly spartan shape, beginning with his tomb of Clement XIV (Rome, SS. Apostoli, 1783–87). A model in Possagno, which instigated the pyramid, climaxes in the astonishing gesture of the upraised arm (fig. 160); the final composition is asymmetric but still subtly triangulated.⁶ The tomb of Clement XIII (Vatican City, Saint Peter's Basilica, 1783–92) continues the process on a grander scale.⁷ The pyramid emerges starkly in the models for a planned monument to Titian that became Canova's own



Fig. 160
Antonio Canova, *Model for the Tomb of Clement XIV*,
1783, terracotta, painted white and with x-shaped
incisions for transfer. Possagno, Gipsoteca Canoviana



Fig. 161
Canova, *Model for a Monument to Titian*, about 1791–95,
terracotta. Possagno, Gipsoteca Canoviana



Fig. 162
Trippel, *Tomb Study with Mourning Mercury*,
about 1785–90, ink and wash over graphite.
Schaffhausen, Museum zu Allerheiligen,
Kupferstichkabinett

(fig. 161) and in the much-loved tomb of Archduchess Maria Christina (Vienna, Augustinerkirche, 1798–1805).⁸ Against the triangular backs of these designs (which affirm the Trinity), friezelike groupings of mourners trail across with deceptive informality. When standing in front of the Pyramid of Cestius in Rome, one realizes that Canova did not have to go to Egypt to observe the theatrical effects of the attitudes of people standing between him and the wall sloping away behind them. As for Thorvaldsen's tomb of Pius VII (Vatican City, Saint Peter's Basilica, 1823), it does not break with the pyramidal mode but benefits from the sepulchral sense of stillness that it imparts.⁹

Sculptors dealt frequently with the symbolism, generally stoical, that they received from antiquity—thus their canopic urns, their massive women weeping, and above all their nude youths with extinguished torches.¹⁰ If this usage could seem timeworn, it could also be managed with flair. In an age when faith seemed to be on the wane, a resourceful designer could throw new elements into the mix. Trippel summoned the god Mercury to mourn a deceased couple (fig. 162), but he must have seen that the notion was risible and did not pursue the idea.

A flourishing by-product of mortuary art was the small terracotta *Tafelkenotaphen* (table cenotaphs) that

recorded domestic grief over the passage from life to death. In the Germanic lands, especially in Switzerland with Sonnenschein's delectable commemorations, these works reached high levels of quality and charm (see cat. no. 130). In France, Chinard took up the type, adding veils of symbolism and achieving equally spectacular results (cat. nos. 126, 127). These miniatures, like actual tombs, may be steeped in sentiment, but it would take a later, generally less soulful age to dismiss their fixations as merely morbid.

JDD

1. Panofsky 1964, p. 96.
2. See Bindman and Baker 1995.
3. See Draper in Paris and New York 1997–98, pp. 129–32.
4. Bukdahl 1993, pl. 1. Wiedewelt also investigated ancient funerary urns at length, deriving fanciful geometric shapes from them. See Lucchese 1996.
5. Pratesi 1993, pl. 591.
6. Pavanello 1976, p. 92, no. 24, ill., and pl. v.
7. Ibid., p. 94, no. 39, ill. p. 95 and pls. xi, xii.
8. Ibid., p. 99, nos. 72–75, ill., and pl. xiii (models that were eventually used for the monument to Canova in Venice, church of the Frari [1807]), and pp. 107–8, no. 134, ill., and pls. xxxvi, xxxvii (tomb of Maria Christina).
9. See Licht 1977.
10. Hartmann 1969.

LUC FRANÇOIS BRETON

Besançon, 1731–Besançon, 1800

*Funerary Monument of
Charles-Ferdinand-François de
La Baume-Montrevel*

Terracotta, 60 × 35 × 12 cm (23 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Inscribed: on the pyramid, above the medallion: [VIR]TUTE VIXIT /
MEMORIA – VIVET (With virtue he lived. / May his memory live);
on the shield of History: MEMO[IRE] / DE LA / MAISO[N] / [LA] /
BA[UME] ([In] memory of the house [of] La Baume)
Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie (849.35.17)

PROVENANCE

The artist's studio; listed in the "Inventaire général des plâtres et
modèles gravés de tous genres que l'académie de dessin, peinture
et sculpture de la ville de Besançon possède pour l'instruction
publique, ainsi que les meubles nécessaires au dit établissement,
fait au mois d'avril 1820" [General inventory of the plasters and
engraved models of every kind that the Academy of Drawing,
Painting, and Sculpture of the city of Besançon possesses for
public instruction, together with the furnishings necessary for
the said establishment made in April 1820] (Besançon, Archives
Municipales, 1D10); entered the museum with the contents of
the artist's studio, 1849

EXHIBITION

Besançon 1906, no. 315

REFERENCES

Lancrenon 1850, p. 85, no. 393; Castan 1891, p. 230; Gauthier 1899,
pp. 665–67, no. 20, p. 673 ("plaster"); Lami 1910–11, vol. 1, p. 132;
Cornillot 1940, pp. 49–51, 64, 91–95, 119, 135, ill. p. 92, pl. vi

Charles-Ferdinand-François de La Baume (1695–1736),
lord of Pesmes (Haute-Saône, about twenty-two miles
west of Besançon), last marquis de Montrevel, husband
of Elisabeth-Charlotte de Beauvau-Craon, was buried in
the chapel of Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Pesmes, where the lords
of Pesmes had had their family vault since the fourteenth
century. His funerary monument was commissioned
by his two daughters. The elder, Jeanne-Marguerite, by
birth the comtesse de La Baume-Montrevel (1728–1808),
was the wife of the marquis Eugène-François-Pierre
de Ligniville, comte du Saint-Empire and marquis
d'Houécourt. A lover of art, she traveled often to Italy.
She valued Luc Breton and his knowledge of that country.
She was related to the comte de Saint-Amour, who had
given some land to the sculptor for his studio, as well as
to the duc de Randan, lieutenant general of the govern-
ment of Franche-Comté, of whom Breton made a por-
trait. The younger daughter, Gabrielle-Diane, married
Claude-Antoine de Choiseul. The monument, planned
for the seignorial chapel of Pesmes, was begun in 1775
and finished in 1779. The inscription was placed on it
in 1783.

The monument was described in the *Nouvelles feuilles hebdomadaires des affiches et annonces de la Franche-Comté* (no. 23, June 9, 1783, p. 89: letter written from Paris, dated May 31, 1783; published in Castan 1888, p. 102 n. 1): "In the journey that I have just made in Franche-Comté, I was unable to deny my admiration for the mausoleum of the house of La Baume-Montrevel, erected in the church of Pesmes by M. Breton, one of the directors of the school of painting and sculpture in the city where you live. It is a monument that would adorn this city, where it would be more appropriately placed than in a provincial town, and that you should point out to connoisseurs. A pyramid, symbol of immortality, is designed to support the medallion of Charles-Ferdinand-François de La Baume-Montrevel, which is placed there by the Genius of Fame and crowned with a helmet by the Genius of War. He was the last of the line of Jean de La Baume, comte de Montrevel, which was the barony of Pesmes in the fifteenth century. At the bottom of the pyramid is a large sarcophagus, in front of which is the escutcheon with the arms of the house of Montrevel. To the [proper] left of the tomb is the figure of Time looking at the portrait shown on the medallion and with one hand raising the lid of the tomb with such dispatch that he breaks it. Time's scythe is near him with the debris. In the other hand he holds a torch, image of life, which he has turned upside down and is extinguishing on the ruins of an ancient temple. Visible on the tomb are the marks of the different dignities that have distinguished the house of Montrevel: the helm represents the regency or the vicereignty; the anchor the admiralty, etc. To the [proper] right of the tomb is the figure of History, who is in the course of recording for posterity, on a bronze shield, the lofty deeds of the lords of this house. She is crowned with immortelles. Below this figure are the signs of the zodiac, books, and scrolls. Garlands of cypress are the ornaments of this mausoleum, such as the ancients put on tombs, which most often were set in groves of cypress."

This description was taken up again by the scholar Gauthier (Cornillot 1940, p. 93), who listed the materials used by Breton: "On a black marble base, covered with white marble, inlaid with yellow marble between two projections on which are carved amphoras with a serpentine-band decoration, is placed a sarcophagus in red Sampans stone, modeled on that of Agrippa. It rests against the base of a bluish gray marble pyramid in light relief on which is inlaid an oval medallion with the profile of the deceased, the medallion being in white marble and framed in bronze, behind which hang two garlands of cypress in bronze. Two geniuses in white marble together on a drapery support the portrait of Charles-Ferdinand de La Baume. . . . On each side of the sarcophagus stand two allegorical figures in Tonnerre stone."

In 1789 the duc de Choiseul had a grille put up around the monument. Two years later the monument was dam-

aged, and it was destroyed in 1793. Only the two allegorical figures survived: in 1837 *Time* was to be found in the former Hôtel de Résie in Pesmes; *History*, whose shield bore the inscription "To the memory of the family of La Baume," was salvaged by a wigmaker of Dijon named La Baume, probably attracted by the same name as his own. The present whereabouts of the two statues are not known. A large watercolor by Claude-Louis Chazerand, dated 1784, depicts this imposing funerary monument, placed in a fictive rustic setting that evokes the Elysian Fields (fig. 163; see Mary 1985, p. 34, ill.). At an unknown date Breton executed a marble relief—now lost—representing the Pesmes monument for Mme de Ligniville's hôtel in Besançon (Cornillot 1940, p. 51).

The present terracotta, made about 1775, is the first sketch for the monument. At this stage Breton had conceived it as a high relief to be placed on a wall and not as a monument standing on a pedestal. The shrouded skeleton of Death, extinguishing a torch and lifting the tomb's lid, recalls Bernini's pontifical tombs and above all Pigalle's mausoleum of the maréchal de Saxe, which had been in Saint-Thomas, Strasbourg, since 1776 but was known before then through prints. This perhaps too obvious connection may have led Breton to modify the monument's composition. Instead of Death, he presents the figure of Time, an old man winged and bearded who gazes at the medallion and thus offers a fitting pendant for History, represented—like Fame in antiquity—by a winged woman writing on a tablet. The sculptor retained the ancient symbol of the pyramid. The representation of the deceased in a medallion surrounded by cherubs betrays Italian influence. It is quite unusual, however, to see a sarcophagus interior piled with emblems evoking the family's glory (cardinal's hat, archbishop's miter, admiral's anchor, marshal's baton, insignia of the orders of the Saint-Esprit and the Golden Fleece, and so on). Two small terracotta models of *Time* and *History*, used for the monument's second stage, are in the Musée de Besançon (Castan 1891, pp. 230–31); they are listed in the inventories of the models of drawing and sculpture for the use of the pupils of the École Gratuite of Besançon (Besançon, Archives Municipales, 1R19, with the covering letter of September 19, 1815).

In the present terracotta Breton worked rapidly, capturing the contrasted attitudes of History and Death, the first seen in profile, the second from the back. The sarcophagus, with its accessories, is an ingenious idea, allowing for picturesque effects. The large-scale monument lacks the sketch's freshness: Time in particular is more imposing than the airy skeleton of Death, but it is less a part of the composition as a whole. The sketch embodies the passion of the first moments of formal creation.

The clay is orange in color. The white spots indicate that chamotte (material that helps the firing process) was added to improve the clay's performance in the kiln. A



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Fig. 163
Claude-Louis Chazerand,
*Funerary Monument of Charles-Ferdinand-François
de La Baume-Monrevel by Luc Breton, 1784,*
watercolor. Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale

preparatory work, such as this one, was made for use in the studio, and therefore a surface coating was probably not applied. Its present appearance, as if a grayish white agent had penetrated the pores of the clay, is the result of a cleaning with water in the 1950s. Breton modeled his figures with balls of clay directly onto a slab of clay, which led to cracks during the firing and even to an important loss of material below the sarcophagus.

GS

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FRENCH

about 1768–70

Funerary Monument of Pierrette-Bernarde de La Rue, née Heudelot de Létancourt, Comtesse de Mareilles

Terracotta, polychrome, 44 × 27.3 × 22.1 cm (17 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)
Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Sculptures (RF 1832)

PROVENANCE

Acquired in Paris from MM. Guiraud et fils, with an attribution to Marin, in 1924

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1950, no. 2; Paris 1974, no. 45, ill.; Duisburg, Karlsruhe, Gotha, and Paris 1989–90, no. 25, ill. [In all three exhibitions the person commemorated was wrongly described as a member of the family of Le Prestre de Vauban.]

REFERENCES

Stadie-Lindner 1991, pp. 233–34, no. 6; Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 2, p. 720, ill. (“anonymous”); Palasi forthcoming; Scherf forthcoming

This small funerary monument, with its detailed finish, was conceived as an object to be admired from both front and back. On the front a veiled female figure, personification of Grief, is seated on a sarcophagus. At her feet a cornucopia spills forth its fruits beside a smoking perfume burner. On the back a tearful child genius, holding an extinguished torch turned downward, embraces a funerary urn. A branch of cypress surrounds the paired coats of arms on either side of the sarcophagus lid. The heraldic composition consists of marriage bearings surmounted by a ducal coronet. Philippe Palasi deciphered these bearings and correctly identified the monument. The alliance in question took place in Champagne, in the region of Chaumont, between the families of La Rue (“azure, a chevron Or between three lozenges argent”) and Heudelot (“gules, a chevron between in chief two mullets and in base a trefoil Or”) (Archives Département-

tales de la Haute-Marne, 7 J42, manuscript by Arthur Daguin, “Armorial du département de la Haute-Marne,” no. 604). The monument thus commemorates the union of Claude-Joseph de La Rue (1730–1799), comte de Mareilles, baron de Romain-sur-Meuse, and captain of the regiment of Lorraine, and Pierrette-Bernarde Heudelot de Létancourt, born at Langres on July 9, 1742, daughter of Arnoult-René-Toussaint Heudelot, lord of Létancourt, counselor to the king, and chevalier d’honneur in the chambre des comptes of Burgundy. They were married in the chapel of the château of Percey-le-Pautel on May 14, 1761, and their son, Arnoult-Louis-Marie, was baptized on April 24, 1762. The mother died some months later, on September 25, 1762, aged twenty (Archives Départementales de la Haute-Marne, parish registers of Mareilles, 5 Mi 315 R1). Her husband had been so deeply affected by her death that he seems to have been unable to walk in her funeral procession (the parish priest crossed out his name on the list of participants in the ceremony). After the death in 1788 of his sole heir, the widower, marquis de Reynel since 1763, remarried in 1790.

In the present terracotta great care was taken to represent the arms with the details of the quarterings of nobility that distinguished the family alliances (the ducal coronet is, however, only decorative, as often in goldsmith’s work). This work may be a model for a funerary monument that Claude-Joseph de La Rue wanted to erect, or it may have been a memento mori, a small cenotaph. The second hypothesis seems likely given the work’s high finish, the precision of details (such as the armorial bearings) which repays close inspection, and the high cost of realizing such a project on a monumental scale. This supposition is reinforced by the contemporary taste for funerary representations suitable for domestic interiors—what Babette Stadie-Lindner calls *Zimmerkenotaphen* (“room” cenotaphs)—of which there are several well-known examples (see cat. no. 124). A great collector and friend of artists, La Live de Jully was inconsolable after the death of his first wife, and he asked Étienne Falconet to sculpt a figure representing “Sweet Melancholy” (plaster listed in the *livret* of the Salon of 1761 but not shown; marble version, Salon of 1763, now in Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum), in which a young woman sadly contemplates a dove, symbol of marital devotion (Frankfurt 1999–2000, no. 74, ill.). In the Salon of 1767 Jean-Jacques Caffieri exhibited *Friendship Mourning on a Tomb* (plaster, Paris, Musée du Louvre; Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 1, p. 125, ill.) and in the Salon of 1773 the monument commissioned after the death of Mme Favart by her lover, the abbé de Voisenon (Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 1, p. 126, ill.). These two works and the present terracotta have similar iconographic details: the urn, “reminder of cremation in antiquity”; the smoking perfume burner, “reminiscence of the incense of funerals” (Ingersoll-Smouse 1912, p. 59); the cypress branch,



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117 (reverse)

symbol of eternity; and the lowered torch, evoking the extinguished flame of life ended.

These accessories are part of the vocabulary of monumental sculpture. They are often associated with the figure of Grief, personified by a woman in affliction and generally veiled, as in Baroque allegories. An early example of the new Neoclassical funerary art, which flourished in France beginning in the second third of the eighteenth century, was the tomb of the duchesse de Lauraguais by Edme Bouchardon in Saint-Sulpice, Paris; erected in 1736–38, the tomb no longer exists and is known only from some brief descriptions (see cat. no. 118). Bouchardon's two pupils, Louis-Claude Vassé and Laurent Guiard, went on to develop this Neoclassical aesthetic. The second name leads to the work under discussion. Guiard was—like his master Bouchardon—born in Chaumont in Haute-Marne, the region from



Fig. 164
Laurent Guiard, *Project for a Tomb*,
engraved by Jacques-Étienne
Thierry, 1775. Paris, Bibliothèque
Nationale de France

which La Rue and his wife came. When Mme La Rue died, the sculptor was in Rome (where he had been since 1755). Returning to France in 1767, he was denied entrance to the Académie. Appointed first sculptor to the court of Parma in 1769, he left for Italy again in 1771. During his short time in France, Guiard relied on the protection of the duc de Choiseul, whom he had known when the latter was ambassador in Rome and whose family also had roots in Haute-Marne. Did Guiard meet La Rue through Choiseul? Would such a connection allow the attribution of the present terracotta to Guiard? With no documentary evidence, such a conjecture must be advanced with caution. It is worth noting, however, that Guiard was much concerned with funerary art: in 1768 he executed a project in terracotta for the mausoleum of Duchess Louisa-Dorothea of Saxe-Gotha (formerly in Gotha, Schlossmuseum; Frank, Mathies, and Poulet 2002, p. 218, figs. 16, 17); and in 1775 he conceived a “Cayer de tombeaux” (Notebook of tombs) engraved by Thierry. In composition and style these works are strikingly close to the present terracotta. The woman seated on a sarcophagus is there again (fig. 164), as well as the distressed genius with lowered torch leaning on an urn, the two figures set against what is very much an architectural composition.

The present monument is a work of great refinement. The pensive female figure is elegantly draped, her silhouette recalling a drawing by Bouchardon. The piece is partly covered in polychromy (it is not known when this was applied). The figures are now the beige color of the clay, as are the coats of arms, the cornucopia, the garland of cypress, and the urn. The sarcophagus is painted the marbled gray of *bleu turquin* marble; its feet and the perfume burner are gilt with a compound that suggests bronze. The allusion to materials used in monumental art (marble and bronze) recurs on the base, where an assortment of colored marbles is evoked: two shades of green are used for the frame, the garland is gilt, and the tablet for the epitaph has been left white (and blank) on a pink background.

PP/GS

CLAUDE MICHEL, CALLED CLODION

Nancy, 1738–Paris, 1814

Mourner

Terracotta, 27.5 × 15.5 × 17.5 cm (10 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

Inscribed: on the rock, at the back of the base: *CLODION.M / in Roma. 1766*; on the urn: *D.O.M.*

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Sculptures (RF 1827)

PROVENANCE

Acquired from M. Parguez in 1924

EXHIBITIONS

Duisburg, Karlsruhe, Gotha, and Paris 1989–90, no. 37, ill.; Paris 1992a, no. 9, ill.; Lyon 1998–99, no. 148, ill.

REFERENCES

Vitry 1924, p. 88, ill.; Brinckmann 1925, p. 127; Josephson 1956, vol. 1, p. 107, ill.; Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 1, p. 148, ill.

This delicate *Mourner*, executed by Clodion when he was in Italy, is a meditation on death. The sculptor made several statuettes of a similar type: one signed and dated *Clodion Invt Roma 1764* (Scherf 1993b, p. 58, fig. 12; sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, June 30, 1997, no. 68, ill.) and another bearing the same inscription and the same date of 1766 as the present terracotta, most likely its pendant (Paris, Musée du Louvre, RF 1826; Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 1, p. 148, ill.). In the latter the figure holds an hourglass on the urn; the other two have only the urn as accessory. The attitude of mourning is reinforced by the veil that masks their eyes.

Clodion did not invent the iconography of the solitary mourner, a sober and wholly Neoclassical evocation of death. An early example of this doleful subject is a red-chalk drawing by Edme Bouchardon with two inscriptions on the sarcophagus: *O mort que de / ton nom la me / moire est amere* (O death, how bitter is the memory of your name); and below, *meditation de la mort* (meditation on death) (fig. 165; Paris 1986a, no. 56, ill.). The drawing is not dated and may have been done when the artist was thinking about the funerary monument of the duchesse de Lauraguais, erected in the church of Saint-Sulpice in Paris between 1736 and 1738. The monument no longer exists, but it is known from a brief description by Caylus of a “weeping woman” leaning against a column (Caylus 1762 [1910 ed.], p. 93) and from the account of a wax model in two sales in the following decade (Caffieri, October 10, 1775, no. 23; and Sorbet, April 1, 1776, no. 184), specifying that the female figure is standing; “leaning on part of a column, she brings her robe to her eyes and seems to be weeping.” The theme, in which Grief stands in for the deceased, had considerable success especially with Bouchardon’s pupils Louis-Claude Vassé and Laurent Guiard (see cat. no. 117). Clodion adds a discreet religious

p. 45] and in his autobiography of 1785 [see Bjurström 1975, p. 99]).

In an appealing style, in which his genius in modeling is apparent, Clodion adapted the vocabulary of classical antiquity for a clientele won over by low-key, easily comprehended forms. This approach gained him a prodigious following among the connoisseurs of his day. Here he was bent particularly on layering the draperies in a virtuosic manner, creating attractive effects of light and shade by manipulating spills of small folds alongside smooth planes or long grooved channels. The surface thus shows volumes arranged one on top of the other, giving the whole an astonishing suppleness (especially delectable in back).

gs

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connotation by including on the urn a Latin inscription often found on antique monuments: *D.O.M.* ("Deo Optimo Maximo" [To the best and greatest god]). The figure's posture—legs crossed, right hand raised toward brow, left hand resting on a support—repeats the pensive attitude of "Penelope," an antique sculpture in the Vatican (Poulet in Paris 1992a, p. 114, fig. 67), which was also used, with variations by Clodion's contemporaries. Ragnar Josephson has noted a formal correspondence between the present terracotta and a drawing by Sergel (fig. 166) done when the latter was in Italy, as well as studies by Sergel of October 1801 for the funerary monument of Ehrensvärd (Josephson 1956, vol. 2, p. 521, ill.). The Swedish sculptor's sensitivity toward the antique and the sensuality of his artistic approach link him to Clodion (whom he mentions in a notebook dating from his stay in Paris [see Scherf in Paris 1992a,



Fig. 165
Edme Bouchardon,
Meditation on Death,
about 1736–38, red chalk.
Paris, Musée du Louvre



Fig. 166
Sergel, *Mourner*,
between 1767 and 1778,
red chalk. Stockholm,
Nationalmuseum



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ÉTIENNE D'ANTOINE

Carpentras, 1737–Marseille, 1809

Mourner

Terracotta, 21 × 23 × 11 cm (8¼ × 9 × 4⅞ in.)

Inscribed under the left leg: *D'Antoine / 1772*

Avignon, Musée Calvet (R 213)

PROVENANCE

Esprit Calvet; his bequest, 1810

EXHIBITION

Paris 1900, no. 1431

REFERENCES

Lami 1910–11, vol. 1, p. 28; Paris 1973b, pp. 52–53, ill.; Parlasca 1990, pp. 30–31, ill.; Stadie-Lindner 1991, pp. 261–62, ill.

Presumably because of the funerary urn, this work has long been known as “Agrippina with the Ashes of Germanicus.” However, a torch plays no part in accounts—chiefly the *Annals* of Tacitus—of the widowed

Agrippina the Elder. In addition, an artist of Étienne d'Antoine's sensibility would surely have wished to include her children, who in pictorial accounts regularly accompany her and the urn with Germanicus's remains that she bore from Syria to Rome. A likelier interpretation is that the extraordinarily elongated, massively draped figure embodies Mourning. An inverted torch, here dying out at her foot, was frequently employed on tombs to denote extinguished life. The piece, too finished to be a model for a tomb, was no doubt intended to serve as a small private memorial. By 1775, in a small marble cenotaph to the memory of a young girl, d'Antoine would make the commemorative aspect more specific through inscriptions (Montpellier, Musée Fabre; Claparède 1949, p. 184, ill.).

The rosy buff terracotta, deftly and delicately worked (as in the allusion to smoke incised lightly above the torch), also shows excellent firing technique. This expertise may partially be explained by d'Antoine's years in Rome (1766 to about 1768), which coincided with Clodion's time there. By the date of the present model, d'Antoine was back in the south of France. This figure offers evidence of the great proficiency with which modeling was practiced throughout France. JDD



120 (reverse)

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FRENCH

last quarter of the 18th century

Mourner

Terracotta, 16.6 × 12.5 × 10.8 cm (6½ × 4⅞ × 4¼ in.)
Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs (RI 2003.52.1)

PROVENANCE

Collection Dupont-Auberville, last quarter of the 19th century
(from a handwritten label); entered the museum at an unknown date

This lovely statuette represents a veiled woman in mournful affliction, next to a funerary urn placed on an antique altar. She has not been identified, but the absence of children means that she is not to be seen as Agrippina with the ashes of Germanicus. She may be the inconsolable queen Artemisia, sister and wife of Mausolus, who had built for him at Halicarnassus the sumptuous mausoleum that was one of the Seven Wonders of the World, the mythical prototype of the funerary monument. The

most likely interpretation, however, is that she is one of those representations of Grief, attached to a tomb or not, that were so numerous in France and indeed across Europe during the second half of the eighteenth century (see cat. no. 119).

The small-scale work is admirably presented on a circular base. It is a refined collector's item, an object that can be held in one's hands and easily turned to examine details from various angles. Conceived as a sketch, this statuette was probably not done in preparation for a monument but was fashioned simply for the delectation of lovers of terracotta. In that respect this *Mourner* is not unlike Clodion's (cat. no. 118), which is a pure figure of the artist's fantasy, a memento mori for a connoisseur's cabinet. The anonymous sculptor was, moreover, influenced by Clodion's style. Recognizable here are the latter's practice of superimposing fabrics and of creating a play between the folds and falls of drapery. The back of the work is especially superb, with its rhythmic undulations hollowed out across one shoulder to the other. The artist may have been Joseph-Charles Marin, whose touch perhaps inspired the young woman's pretty face and who was a virtuoso in the impeccable organization of draperies (see cat. no. 26).

GS

IVAN PETROVICH MARTOS

Ichnya, Ukraine, 1754–Saint Petersburg, 1835

Project for a Funerary Monument

Terracotta, 27 × 39 × 16 cm (10 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)
Saint Petersburg, State Russian Museum (330)

PROVENANCE

V. I. Grigorovich, Saint Petersburg; V. N. Argoutinsky-Dolgoroukov until 1918

EXHIBITIONS

Leningrad 1953 (unnumbered; Kozlovsky); Leningrad 1960 (Prokofiev); Leningrad 1986, no. 16, ill. (unknown sculptor); Saint Petersburg 1995, no. 13, ill. (Martos?)

REFERENCES

Kovalenskaia 1938, pp. 50–51, 130, ill.; State Russian Museum, Leningrad 1988, pp. 124–25, no. 980, ill. (Prokofiev?)

The years from about 1775 to 1835 witnessed the flowering of Russian funerary art. The necropolises of the Alexander Nevsky Monastery in Saint Petersburg and the Donskoi Monastery in Moscow were enriched with sculptural masterpieces that rivaled those elsewhere in Europe. The present terracotta model unfortunately did not result in a large-scale tomb, despite qualities that

could have made it one of the best of its kind. It has been attributed to the great Russian Neoclassical sculptors M. I. Kozlovsky, I. P. Prokofiev, and I. P. Martos. I support the attribution to Martos because of its stylistic similarity to other works by the sculptor and because of its inclusion in K. I. Afanasiev's engravings of Martos's works. These engravings, mounted in an album, were commissioned by the secretary of the Academy of Arts, V. I. Grigorovich (the sculptor's son-in-law), who owned the present work.

Existing documentation does not identify the person for whom this monument was intended. However, the warrior's attributes and the exalted decorations, as well as the allegorical figures of Fortitude and Love of Patria, suggest that the deceased, whose portrait is seen on the medallion, was an important military officer. The orders shown (those of Saint Alexander Nevsky, Saint Andrew, and Saint Vladimir) suggest that this project may have been connected with the death in 1783 of Field Marshal Prince Aleksander Mikhailovich Golitsyn, who fought in the Seven Years' War and the Russo-Turkish Wars and was governor-general of Saint Petersburg. His marble funerary monument, erected in the church of the Annunciation in the Alexander Nevsky Monastery, was sculpted in 1788 by F. G. Gordeev. Nevertheless, other artists, particularly Martos, who was to become an unsurpassed master of funerary art, could have worked toward this project. Martos always developed his terracotta sketches to perfection; they were remarkably close



Fig. 167
Roman, *Dacia Weeping*,
2nd century A.D., marble.
Rome, Musei Capitolini



to the final marble or bronze versions. Like his finest funerary monuments, this terracotta achieves its expressivity not only through a harmony of line and mass but also through the charm of its discrete emotiveness. The female figure of Mourning is modeled after the well-known *Dacia Weeping* (fig. 167; Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 193–94, no. 28, fig. 100), a frequent source in the age of Neoclassicism.

EK

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JOHANN GOTTFRIED SCHADOW

Berlin, 1764–Berlin, 1850

Mourner

Terracotta, minute traces of old gilding, 45 × 21 × 22 cm
(17¾ × 8¼ × 8⅝ in.)
Berlin, Grosse Loge Royal York zur Freundschaft

PROVENANCE

Gift of the artist to the Grosse Loge Royal York zur Freundschaft, Berlin

EXHIBITIONS

Düsseldorf, Nuremberg, and Berlin 1994–95, no. 65, ill.

REFERENCES

Mackowsky 1951, p. 104, no. 54, and fig. 76; see also no. 53; Eckardt 1987, pp. 42ff., 49, ill. p. 273; Bloch 1990, pp. 56–59, ill.; Eckardt 1990, pp. 76–80; Nationalgalerie, Berlin 2001, pp. 361–62, no. 420, ill.

Schadow was a genial sort who maintained many social ties outside artistic circles and who was active in a number of societies. For many years he regularly attended meetings of the Masonic Lodge Royal York zur Freundschaft in Berlin. There, whenever his fellow Masons were asked for charitable contributions, this terracotta statuette of a kneeling woman with a pleading gesture would be placed on the table. The piece was not a model, rather a work of art that prompted viewers to dig deep in their pockets.

It was thought that this expressive statuette was a study for the tomb of Prince Ludwig of Prussia in Berlin Cathedral. The husband of Princess Friederike, the sister of Queen Louise of Prussia, he died young in 1796. Schadow's tomb relief was to depict his widow kneeling with their children by his sarcophagus, from which his soul wafted upward (fig. 168). For such a relief the sculptor would not have created a preliminary sketch in the form of such a carefully executed figure so different in posture. Any connection to the tomb project is further disproved by comparison of the kneeling figure's somewhat fleshy and summary oval face with the narrow,

more pointed face of Princess Friederike, which was meant to be her likeness as it reproduces the delicately modeled features of the clay bust portrait executed in 1795 (Mackowsky 1951, pp. 74–76).

The other terracottas by Schadow included here (cat. nos. 98, 103, and 104) are unique works intended solely as sketches for possible statues and are characterized by swift and vigorous modeling. The *Mourner*, however, survives in multiple copies, each precisely detailed. In fact, these works differ considerably in their particulars and are thus variants rather than identical copies. The two terracotta versions known to me differ a bit in size, in surface treatment, and in numerous points. The present example is of exceptional quality; the second (fig. 169), less carefully modeled, is somewhat smaller and less successfully achieved. The hair is treated in a graphic manner and is less expressive. The sleeves are longer, the clasped fingers flatter and less carefully worked, and some of the drapery folds look underworked. If the second is a copy of the first, it was crudely finished, perhaps by a pupil. Its base is clumsily done, like a potter's work, with bulky struts to provide stability, whereas that of cat. no. 122 is thin-walled, braced inside for reinforcement.

The Nationalgalerie example (acquired in 1906) is bronzed and, in spots, gilt (the ends of the sleeves). The gilding does not follow the lines of the garment; it ignores the distinction between fabric and flesh and covers bits of both, thus obscuring sculptural form. The bronzing disguises the fact that the work is actually of terracotta. If we compare similar partial gilding on other works (among them, the bust of Louise in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg), we must



Fig. 168
Carl Becker, after Schadow,
Monument for Prince Ludwig of Prussia,
1797, etching. Berlin, Stiftung Archiv
der Akademie der Künste



Fig. 169
Schadow, *Mourner*, bronze-tinted
terracotta, partially gilt.
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin,
Nationalgalerie



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conclude that this is an embellishment from the early nineteenth century.

A third example, cast in plaster, was bequeathed to the Nationalgalerie in 1963 by Hans Mackowsky, the noted sculpture scholar (Bloch 1990, pp. 56–59). We will perhaps know more about these replicas when the archives of Masonic lodges in Germany are opened to researchers.

It is known, however, that in 1817 Schadow created, with the assistance of his student Ludwig Wichmann, a figure of Mary Magdalen for the terracotta manufactory

of Tobias Feilner, which produced all manner of objects, from small sculptures to stove tiles. Might this figure have been issued in a series by Feilner, as with other works from his firm? From an iconographical point of view, the idea seems plausible.

Comparable statuettes were sometimes used as ornaments on clocks. In this context the *Mourner* would be seen as lamenting the swift passage of time and the brevity of life. The figure is related in spirit to *Conjugal Love* (1802–4 by Philipp Jakob Scheffauer, Dannecker's

most important rival), which depicts a woman kneeling and wringing her hands. Scheffauer, who worked regularly in terracotta (see cat. no. 40), made his statuette as a model for the sepulchre of Crown Prince Karl Ludwig of Baden (Hübinger 1987, p. 63, fig. 15). This association of a similar figure with a tomb lends some comfort to the thesis, rejected above, that Schadow's *Mourner* was somehow connected to a funerary monument.

The present terracotta, the first and best version of the *Mourner*, despite the long crack on the right hip, belonged to the Berlin Masonic lodge for more than a hundred years. When the Freemasons were banned by the Nazis in the 1930s because their goals were allied with Enlightenment ideals and because their regulations made them a secret society, many Masonic archives and art holdings were confiscated. The *Mourner* was transferred to the Nationalgalerie (inv. BI 612) when such goods seized by the Nazis were returned to their original owners.

BM

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ATTRIBUTED TO

JOHANN VALENTIN SONNENSCHNEIN

Stuttgart, 1749–Bern, 1828

AFTER JOHANN AUGUST NAHL

Berlin, 1710–Kassel, 1781

Reduction of the Funerary Monument of Maria Magdalena Langhans, Née Wäber, and of Her Stillborn Child

Cast terracotta, 37 × 24.5 × 7.5 cm (14½ × 9½ × 3 in.)

Inscribed: above, in the oval: HERR, HIE / R BIN ICH // UND DAS / KIND SO DU // MIR GEGEB / EN HAST. (Lord, here am I and the child you gave me); below: HORCH. DIE TROMPETTE SCHA / LIT. IHR KLANG DRINGT // DURCH DA / S GRAB. // WACH AUF. MEIN SCHME / RZENS : SOHN WIRF // DEINE / HULSEN AB. // DEIN HEILAND RUF/T DIR ZU. VOR IHM FLIEHT // TOD / UND ZEIT. // UND IN EIN EWIG / G HEIL VERSCHWINDET // ALL / ES LEID (Hear, the trumpet blares / Resounding through the grave. / Awake, my son of sorrow / Throw off your shell. / Your Savior calls to you. / Death and time flee before Him / And in an eternal salvation / All suffering disappears.)

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'Art (OA 7870)

PROVENANCE

Probably the Laval-Montmorency collection, seized during the French Revolution (AN, F17*372, fol. 333, with an attribution to Augustin Pajou; see Paris and New York 1997–98, p. 396); then Paris, Musée du Louvre; on deposit with the Musée National de la Céramique, Sèvres, 1926–2003

This work is a copy of one of the most celebrated sculptures in Switzerland: the funerary monument of Frau Langhans (1723–1751) and her child, executed by Johann August Nahl in 1751. Georg Langhans was a pastor at Hindelbank, near Bern, and Nahl lived with the family while he completed a tomb in Langhans's church. The sculptor, whose eight-day-old daughter had died four months earlier, was shattered by the death of Frau Langhans and her first child on Holy Saturday and soon responded with a funerary monument in sandstone (fig. 170; 225 × 118 cm [88¾ × 46½ in.]; Felder 1988, p. 157, fig. 118). Both mother and child are represented at the resurrection of the dead; with serenely joyful faces, they break through the top of the tomb at the Last Judgment and present themselves to God. The occasion is described by the inscription, which quotes from the poem "Auf das Grabmal einer Wöchnerin" (On the tomb of a woman in childbirth) by the Swiss scholar and writer Albrecht von Haller, a native of Bern. The memorial is decorated with symbols of mortality (skulls, bones, worms); the arms of the two families (Langhans of Bern, in the left cartouche: a crescent inverted, in chief a cross moline and in base a star; and Wäber, in the right cartouche: a death's head above two thighbones in saltire, in chief a star); and acanthus leaves. The motif of two panels opening to reveal a figure comes from classical antiquity: while in Italy Nahl may have seen an antique sarcophagus with a similar design (fig. 171). The image of resurrection, with the dead presenting themselves to God, had strong roots in the Middle Ages, but several seventeenth- and eighteenth-century monuments revisit the motif in spectacular fashion: important examples in Paris are the monuments of Julienne Le Bé by Collignon and Tuby, executed after 1668, of Languet de Gergy by Slodtz, and of the comte d'Harcourt by Pigalle. In London the monument of General Hargrave by Roubiliac (the last three are almost contemporary with Nahl's creation).

The Hindelbank monument quickly became famous. The church became a place of pilgrimage, one of the stops on a sentimental journey in Switzerland; the location appeared in descriptions as early as 1763 and in printed guides beginning in 1793. An illustrious list of travelers visited it—Wieland (1759), Lavater (1777), Trippel (1778), Goethe (1779), Schopenhauer (1804)—and the monument was the subject of frequent comment (see Fallet 1970, pp. 140–41; and Stadie-Lindner 1991, pp. 324–53). Knowledge of the work itself was widely disseminated, not only by the engraving (print no. 40 in *Tableaux de la Suisse; ou, Voyage pittoresque fait dans les treize cantons et états alliés du corps helvétique* by Zurlauben [Paris, 1780]; engraving by Mechel and Hubner, 1786), but also, more unusually, by numerous reductions in terracotta and biscuit porcelain.

As early as 1763 there was mention of a terracotta replica by the "Marmorfabrikant" Johann Friedrich Funk (Bleibaum 1933, pp. 115, 198 n. 473; Fallet 1970,



Fig. 170
Nahl, *Funerary Monument of Frau Langhans*, 1751, sandstone. Hindelbank, Switzerland, parish church



Fig. 171
Roman sarcophagus, marble: detail of the central portion with Mercury. Florence, Museo dell'Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore

pp. 212–13), of which no other versions seem to have been made. Johann Valentin Sonnenschein, a teacher at the Bern school of fine arts beginning in 1779, was described as the author of terracotta reductions of the Hindelbank monument by Heinzmann (1794) and Meusel (1797). Each reduction cost three louis d'or.

The reductions after the Hindelbank monument were commercially produced tourist souvenirs. Babette Stadie-Lindner lists fourteen surviving terracottas (1991, pp. 353–64, no. 44.1–14), among them versions in Strasbourg (Musée des Arts Décoratifs), Berlin (Skulpturensammlung), Hamburg (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe), Stuttgart (Württembergisches Landesmuseum), Basel

(Historisches Museum Basel), Bern (Bernisches Historisches Museum), and Zurich (Schweizerisches Landesmuseum). Stadie-Lindner (1991, pp. 371–73) classifies these in terms of molding technique, composition (positions of the mother and child, larger or smaller opening of the break in the coffin lid, and so on), and inscriptions. Slight differences are not surprising. This was an artisanal operation, and elements such as the coffin which could be molded were easy to reproduce identically, but additions modeled by hand gave the figures or ornamental details a touch of freshness.

Slight differences are also to be found in the biscuit versions. Several were produced by the Niderviller manufactory (near Sarrebourg in Lorraine), where the modeler from 1779 to 1806 was Lemire. Stadie-Lindner traces five copies bearing the factory mark (1991, pp. 406–35, no. 44.18–22), among them examples in Paris (Musée des Arts Décoratifs), Bern (Bernisches Historisches Museum at Schloss Oberhofen), and Zurich (Schweizerisches Landesmuseum), the last two still in their original souvenir boxes. Other versions were made in Switzerland by the Nyon porcelain manufactory: Stadie-Lindner cites three copies (1991, pp. 392–405, no. 44.15–17), in Switzerland at the Musée Historique et des Porcelaines, Nyon, and the Musée Ariana, Geneva, and in England at Chatsworth House, Derbyshire. A Nyon mold bearing the name of Sonnenschein shows that the sculptor was active in that Swiss city (Pelichet 1957, p. 120). Niderviller and Nyon reductions in biscuit are mentioned in 1787 in a Bern newspaper (*Hoch oberkeitlich Privilegiertes Wochen-Blatt der Stadt Bern*, no. 47 [November 24, 1787], p. 53; cited by Pelichet 1957, p. 217).

The intense poignancy of the Hindelbank monument and its rich theological content are lost in these reductions. Nahl's tomb is diminished, transformed into a portable travel keepsake. His work takes on the nature of a sentimentalized object, passing from the private to the public sphere, and is subsumed by the feelings of the purchaser, who invests it with a new emotional content, severing it from the devastating deaths of mother and child.

GS

JOHANN HEINRICH DANNECKER

Stuttgart, 1758–Stuttgart, 1841

Funerary Memorial to Archduchess Elisabeth of Austria

Cast terracotta, with a slip of pale honey-gray chalk, 21.5 × 26.7 × 12.8 cm (8½ × 10½ × 5 in.)

Signed and dated on the rear of the bed: *Dannecker i 792*
Frankfurt, Liebieghaus-Museum alter Plastik (St. P. 340)

PROVENANCE

According to Landsberger 1931, the piece was then in the Städel-Institut, Frankfurt

EXHIBITION

Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 1, no. 44c, ill.

REFERENCES

Landsberger 1931, p. 179, ill.; Beck 1985, p. 97, ill.; Kalveram n.d., ill.

Princess Elisabeth Wilhelmine of Württemberg married Archduke Francis of Austria in 1788. Her death in childbirth on February 18, 1790, was followed by that of his father, Leopold II, whom Francis succeeded as emperor in 1792. He would marry three more times, siring twelve children by his second empress, Maria Teresa of the Two Sicilies, but in this memorial, we are meant to feel that nothing could allay the double impact of the loss of his first bride and the survival of their only child Ludovica—the infant who wriggles near her dead mother's womb. In fact, Ludovica was to live only another sixteen months—just into 1792, the date of the terracotta.

Dannecker no doubt hoped for a commission to create Elisabeth's tomb, but this composition's exquisite completeness and its circulation in other cast terracotta examples suggest it found favor instead as a *Zimmerkenotaph*, or commemoration on a domestic scale. A terracotta was praised in the *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* in November 1792, and in 1795 the sculptor sent an example to one Professor Franz Oberthür in Würzburg (see Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 1, pp. 186–87). Cast terracottas besides the present one are in the Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, and at Schloss Harburg in Swabia (for them, see Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 1, no. 44a, b, ill.). Both are painted bronze color (like the one commended by the *Journal des Luxus*). The one at Schloss Harburg, which descended in the family of a cousin of the deceased, rests on a miniature marble cenotaph engraved with gilt letters: NON OMNIS MORIAR. / ENIXA TIBI / FILIAM (I do not die utterly, because I have borne you a daughter). The text thus reiterates the little princess's survival but not its brevity.



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Kalveram assumes that the young man of the group is the grieving archduke, but he does not have Francis's long, oft-repeated Hapsburg face. Holst (in Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 1, p. 186) senses the features of an Alexander or Hephaestion. Vainly hoping that his beloved's heart still beats, he is so idealized that he should be viewed as a spirit of matrimony or, more likely, as Thanatos, a classical genius of death, in this case unwinged. His bowing, tenderly attentive form is not unlike that of the Cupid in Antonio Canova's group, which was becoming well known even before its completion. This makes Landsberger's identification of the subject as Cupid and Psyche, though

obviously wrong, somewhat sympathetic. Typically Dannecker relied on a number of elements from the magnificent repertory of forms known to him; among these, a sarcophagus showing the Death of Meleager probably supplied the motifs of the Roman-style bed and the princess's trailing arm (Bober and Rubinstein 1986, pp. 145–47, nos. 114–18).

This is the most sharply detailed of the three surviving terracottas. The pale buff clay, expertly cast with thin walls, has received a coat of pale honey-gray chalk.

JDD

JOSEPH CHINARD

Lyon, 1756–Lyon, 1813

Allegory Dedicated to Jean-Baptiste Dumas

Terracotta, 43.5 × 33 × 22 cm (17½ × 13 × 8⅝ in.)

Inscribed: on the base, at the back: *Esquisse faite par Chinard à Lyon, 1801*; on the base, at the left: *Les enfans de Jh Creuzet à leur tuteur*; on the base, in front: *Le Creuzet du malheur éprouvant l'amitié / fait de l'homme sensible une divinité*; on the rock:

A / DUMAS; on the bundle: *J. B. DUMAS A LYON* (Sketch made by Chinard at Lyon, 1801; The children of Jh[Joseph] Creuzet to their guardian; Friendship, Le Creuzet experiencing calamity, / Makes a divinity of the man of feeling; To Dumas; J. B. Dumas at Lyon)

Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts (1965–47)

PROVENANCE

Paris, comte de Penha-Longa, before 1909; his sale, Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, December 2, 1911, no. 61, ill.; Bonnier coll.; acquired by the museum in 1965

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1909–10, no. 25 ("Allegorical Group, dedicated to J. B. Dumas"); Lyon 1989–90, no. 35, ill.

REFERENCES

Tourneux 1909, pp. 26–28, ill. p. 6; Lami 1910–11, vol. 1, p. 207; Desvernay 1915, p. 129; Rocher-Jauneau 1978, pp. 33–34, ill.

This group is exceptional because of its mysterious composition and its multiple inscriptions. It is an allegorical presentation of an act of charity by Jean-Baptiste Dumas, guardian of the orphan children of his friend Joseph Creuzet. Dumas appears as a tutelary genius bringing the elder girl toward him out of an immense egg. This lass in turn draws out her young brother, rescuing him from the bite of a snake. A grief-stricken woman, probably the orphans' mother, lies across the back. On the egg is incised a profile with long, straight hair, which could be that of Creuzet. Dumas wrote an obituary of Joseph Chinard, the creator of this work; read at the academy in Lyon in 1814, it was an eloquent testimony to the friendship of the two men. The present group is dated 1801, the year when Dumas was appointed secretary of the Académie des Sciences, Belles Lettres, et Arts of Lyon, and it may be that the terracotta was an affectionate tribute, perhaps even a gift, from the artist to his friend.

Chinard had already realized groups with family-related themes, such as that presenting the wife of the Lyon merchant Van Riesemburgh as Minerva protecting her son from Cupid's darts (terracotta dated 1789, whereabouts unknown; marble dated 1790, Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum; Fusco 1997, p. 17, ill.) and that showing the wife of Général Duhesme, seated on a daybed with her son looking at a medallion portrait of her husband (terracotta, Los Angeles, also Getty Museum;

Fusco 1997, p. 18, ill.). Their straightforward legibility, however, is quite different from the obscurity of this allegory, whose sense remains unclear. Chinard's composition, with a genius bursting into the tender scene, is close to that of several of Sonnenschein's works (see cat. no. 127). The mixture of allegory and real life enriches the funerary motifs and allows for picturesque contrasts, especially in costumes.

Chinard's virtuosity is admirable. The gentle, almost ethereal figure of the wingless genius, a smooth, Apollonian nude, is contrasted with the prone woman with her disordered hair and contorted pose. A profusion of details (accessories, inscriptions) clutters the lower front of the work; the two children seem to emerge from chaos, pulled upward by the genius's attentive gesture. Chinard achieves a marvelously tender delicacy in the children and succeeds in communicating an immense range of emotions with a minimum of means; he was indeed an *homme sensible* (man of feeling).

The work was in the important collection of sculptures by Chinard (especially in terracotta) assembled in the early twentieth century by a Portuguese connoisseur, comte de Penha-Longa, which became known through a 1909 article by Maurice Tourneux and a 1909–10 exhibition organized in Paris.

GS



125 (reverse)





126

JOHANN VALENTIN SONNENSCHN

Stuttgart, 1749–Bern, 1828

Memorial for Ludwig Rudolf von Jenner

Terracotta, 47 × 45 × 29.5 cm (18½ × 17¾ × 11⅝ in.)

Inscribed, on back of rock: R. L. JENNER. / GEB. DEN XII T. NOV.
 MDCLXVIII / GEST. DEN II. SEP. M DCCCVI. / SEIN FREUND F. L. MAY
 (R. L. Jenner, / born the twelfth day of November 1768, / died the
 second of September 1806 / his friend F. L. May)
 Basel, Historisches Museum Basel (1918.214)

PROVENANCE

Commissioned about 1806–7, in memory of Ludwig Rudolf von Jenner, by his friend Colonel Friedrich Franz Ludwig von May von Schöffland; Bern art market (the antiquary Woog, who probably obtained it from the Château d'Utzingen near Bern); bought by the museum in 1918

REFERENCES

Burckhardt 1918, pp. 30–33; Kamber and Widmer-Dean 2001;
 Roda 2002

Only the dedication inscribed on the rear of this work allows us to understand its context and the tragedy it evokes. On September 2, 1806, an immense rockslide occurred in Goldau, a Swiss town in the canton of Schwyz. Some 457 people were killed; 123 domestic animals were lost; and 331 houses and farm buildings were destroyed. Jenner and May, well-born friends, were among a group of thirteen hikers who were overtaken by the falling rocks. Jenner was killed, but May and five others behind him survived the catastrophe. Having witnessed this horrifying event, May wrote a detailed report about it (this document was among the von May family papers, which were published in 2001). The memorial by Sonnenschein follows Jenner's death by a few years, as its date attests.

The split mountain (which emits a stream) at the center is flanked on the right by the unfortunate Jenner, who was lost in the avalanche of rocks, and on the left by a naked genius who reclines holding an extinguished torch. The rock is reminiscent of pyramids seen in contemporary funeral monuments. It is unlikely that it points beyond the circumstances of death as a Baroque symbol might, but it may allude to the everlasting bonds of friendship.

The artist has depicted Jenner, who was thirty-eight years old, as he was in life: he is shown gazing upward, and his costume, a finely draped cape, is only slightly idealized. The apparent contradiction between earthly life and the supernatural figure is resolved in Emmanuel Swedenborg's explication of Christian beliefs about resurrection and the afterlife. The Swedish philosopher and mystic preached that there was no physical resurrection but that after death a human being lives on as

a good or evil spirit. In modeling the figure at the left, Sonnenschein followed the opinions of Lessing (1769) and Herder (1774), who held that Christian funerary art should not show a skeleton but should follow ancient works in depicting one of the twin sons of Night, Hypnos or Thanatos, with a lowered torch. This image would express the Christian belief that the death of a pious soul is rewarded with gentle repose.

Before firing, the base was pierced with four holes to allow a socle to be screwed on. BVR



127

JOHANN VALENTIN SONNENSCHNEIN

Stuttgart, 1749–Bern, 1828

Monument to the Memory of Abraham Carl Brunner

Terracotta, 39.3 × 35 cm (15½ × 13⅞ in.)

Inscribed, on socle: ABR. CARL. BRUNNER / WUERF DEINE HUELLE
AB. DEIN HEILAND RUEFT DIR ZU. / DEN XIV IENNER MDCCCVIII,
IM XXIIIISTEN IAHR. (Abr. Carl Brunner, / throw off your garments.
Your savior calls to you. / The fourteenth of January 1808, in [his]
twenty-third year.)

Bern, Bernisches Historisches Museum (2266)



127 (reverse)

PROVENANCE

Brunner von Wattenwyl, Vienna; given to the museum, 1896

EXHIBITION

Jegenstorf 1986, p. 42 and p. 44, fig. 30

REFERENCES

Breitbart 1911, pp. 290, 298, pl. XVIII, no. 3; Bucher 1989, vol. 1, p. 179, vol. 2, p. 265

Except for the dates of his birth and death little is known about Abraham Carl Brunner. Baptized on May 20, 1784, he died on January 14, 1808. He was the son of Emanuel Brunner, who was the bailiff of Aarberg, one of the most lucrative posts in the canton. The Brunner family, like

that of Salome Jenner, the sitter's mother, was among the eighty families who made up the elite of the Bern republic under the ancien régime.

Like Ludwig Rudolf von Jenner, lost in the 1806 rock-slide in Goldau (cat. no. 126), Brunner is shown with a genius, here standing behind him in an unambiguous reference to his death. He is about to depart on a journey: a voyage is a frequent metaphor for the passage into the beyond. The twenty-three-year-old Brunner sits at a table, legs crossed, gazing into the distance. Everything is ready: his cloak and hat, paper and pencil to jot down last notes, chests and a trunk resembling a miniature sarcophagus.

BVR

Genre Sculpture

The category "genre sculpture" derives from the more widely known "genre painting." In the Académie's hierarchical scale, paintings were assigned to different categories according to their subjects. At the top was history painting, then portraits, genre scenes, still lifes, and finally landscapes. In the mid-eighteenth century it was remarked that "of all the categories of painting, the first is easily that of history. The historical painter is the only painter of the soul; the others paint only for the eye."¹ Greuze was humiliated when he was accepted into the Académie as a "genre painter,"² but the public showed an increasing taste for paintings depicting familiar scenes of daily life, filled with anecdotal detail and carried out in a meticulous style. Influenced by Dutch painting, such works would abound in the last decade of the eighteenth century.³

Sculpture too was affected, though to a lesser degree, by infatuation with the genre scene. The phenomenon can be seen above all in ceramics of the period. Beginning in the 1740s there was a craze in Paris for genre groups in Meissen porcelain, but these works were soon overshadowed by the biscuits made by the new manufactories in Vincennes and Sèvres. The models created at mid-century by Falconet and then, during the reign of Louis XVI, by Boizot showed more or less entertaining episodes of everyday life. Among the scenes most popular with porcelain makers were those of the *rosière* festival (a *rosière* was a village maiden awarded a wreath of roses for her virtuous conduct). Said to have begun in 530 by Medardus, the bishop of Noyon and seigneur of Salency, this celebration was held to crown one or more village maidens chosen for their virtue and gave rise to a

whole family of microevents exalting virginal purity (see cat. no. 128). A 1776 Sèvres biscuit piece, *The Rosière of Salency*, offers an affecting assemblage⁴ in which we find the same compositional principles as in other groups created by the manufactory (fig. 172),⁵ all in the spirit of Greuze. The terracotta statuette that Delaistre exhibited at the Salon of 1793 (fig. 173) was a reduction of the motif decorating the monument to the heart of the marquis de Tourny at his château of La Falaise.⁶ This genre figure, made to decorate a tomb, also circulated in terracotta as an independent piece directed toward the sentimental current among collectors. This sensitive strain was



Fig. 172
Boizot, *Festival of the People*, 1776, terracotta model for a biscuit made by the Sèvres manufactory. Sèvres, Musée National de Céramique



Fig. 173
Nicolas Delaistre, *A Rosière Mourning the Death of Her Founder and Showing the Image of His Heart*, terracotta. Abbaye de Chaalis, Musée Jacquemart-André



Fig. 174
Sonnetschein, *Young Woman with Her Son*, about 1790–1800, terracotta. Bern, Kunstmuseum

superbly displayed at the Salon of 1798 in Stouff's *Woman Frightened by a Thunderclap* (cat. no. 129), the romantic sensibility of which was imitated by the painter Bonne-maison (fig. 177). A terracotta group by Delaville,⁷ *The Great-grandchildren of the Painter Boucher Playing the Game "Main Chaude"*⁸ (fig. 175), was shown at the next Salon, in 1799 (no. 413). Delaville, a student of Boizot, specialized in subjects from everyday life, modeled roughly but not without attention to detail.⁹ The scene of the children at play is a tableau worthy of Goethe's *Werther*, depicting an entire range of age-related behaviors: watchfulness (elder sister), authority (elder brother), consideration (sister at the right), mischievousness (child at the center watching surreptitiously), tenderness (youngest sister holding a dog in her arms). This sort of work—a presentation of an edifying story in a good-natured manner—would continue to be made in the nineteenth century (see cat. no. 132). Some artists, such as Pinelli (cat. no. 133), moved toward an increasingly novelistic and sensationalist mood.

The artist who perhaps best combines the different facets of the genre sculptor at the beginning of the nineteenth century is Sonnetschein (fig. 174; cat. nos. 130, 131). Little known outside Switzerland, he was a very gifted sculptor whose works, full of charm and vivacity, faithfully and sensitively capture high- and middle-class life in Bern.

GS

- Bourgeois and Lechevallier-Chevignard 1914, pl. 19, no. 303; Versailles 2001–2, p. 252.
6. Tourny had revived the *Rosière* festival on his seigneurial lands. Two examples of this subject in terracotta are the *Rosière* in a private collection and that from the Abbaye de Chaalis (fig. 173; Paris 1989, no. 359, ill.). Delaistre made a large marble of the subject, before 1793, for the chapel of the château de La Falaise near Mantes (now Cleveland Museum of Art).
7. On Louis Delaville, see Beaulieu 1976.
8. Duisburg, Karlsruhe, Gotha, and Paris 1989–90, no. 16, ill.; Musée du Louvre 1998, vol. 1, p. 333, ill.
9. Among them *Drinker Leaning on a Barrel*; *Man Escaping and Carrying off a Sack of Coins*; *Grandfather and Grandmother*; and *Messy Household*. See Beaulieu 1976.



Fig. 175
Louis Delaville, *The Great-grandchildren of the Painter Boucher Playing the Game "Main Chaude,"* 1799, terracotta. Paris, Musée du Louvre

1. La Font de Saint-Yenne 1746 (2001 ed.), p. 47.
2. On July 23, 1769. *Procès-Verbaux* 1875–92, vol. 8 (1888), pp. 18–19.
3. Antoine Schnapper in Paris, Detroit, and New York 1974–75, pp. 109–10.
4. *La Rosière de Salency*: Bourgeois and Lechevallier-Chevignard 1914, pl. 19, no. 540; Versailles 2001–2, p. 252.
5. Boizot, *La Fête des bonnes gens* [Festival of the People];

PIERRE JULIEN

Saint-Paulien, 1731–Paris, 1804

Head of a Young Girl Veiled and Crowned with Flowers

Terracotta, on green *cipollino* marble pedestal, H. 45.7 cm (18 in.); with the pedestal, 58.4 × 31.8 × 27.9 cm (23 × 12½ × 11 in.)
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1978.1)

PROVENANCE

Paris, Salon of 1779, no. 231; William Randolph Hearst, before 1941; his sale, New York, March 25, 1941, no. 131; New York, art market; acquired with a gift from C. Michael Paul, 1978

REFERENCES

Pascal 1904, pp. 28–29; Lami 1910–11, vol. 1, p. 14; *Hearst Collection* 1941, p. 3; Benisovich 1949, pp. 370–72, and p. 368, fig. 1; Worley 1988, p. 190; Draper 1991, p. 93, ill.; Draper 1991–92, p. 32, ill.; Scherf 1999–2000, p. 180

In the Salon of 1779 Pierre Julien exhibited a “Head of a woman,” described in the *livret* (with no mention of the medium) as having “a veil on her head and crowned with flowers, like the young girls dowered by the pope and the Sacred College in the church of the Minerva [Santa Maria sopra Minerva] in Rome.” The work was ignored by the critics, who were only interested in the *Dying Gladiator*, his reception piece for the Académie. The commentator in the *Mémoires secrets* did write a few words, finding the bust “of a charming sweetness. The flowers are artistically worked and the veil has almost the transparency of gauze” (Fort 1999, p. 218). Two years later Julien showed his composition in the Salon again (no. 269), but this time in marble and under another title: “Head of a Vestal, in marble, lifesize, the property of M***.” The art lover was perhaps the collector Leboeuf: the work appeared a short time later in his sale on April 8, 1783 (no. 99), when it was sketched by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin in the margin of his catalogue (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale). Subsequently it was in the prestigious collection of the comte de Vaudreuil (his sale, Paris, November 26, 1787, no. 175); it then appeared in a mixed sale ([Lespinasse d’Arlet de Langeac], Paris, July 11, 1803, no. 23), before being listed on November 30, 1829, in the inventory of the “movable property of the Administration of the Archives du Royaume” (fig. 176; Scherf 1999–2000, p. 180, ill.).

Response to the 1781 marble version was less muted but more negative. The *Réflexions joyeuses d’un garçon de bonne humeur sur les tableaux exposés au Sallon en 1781*, attributed to Jean-Baptiste Radet, considered that “this head of a Vestal is not a beauty” (McWilliam, Schuster, and Wrigley 1991, p. 76, no. 334), although the *Réponse aux réflexions joyeuses* retorted: “his head of a little Vestal

is charming” (McWilliam, Schuster, and Wrigley 1991, p. 76, no. 335). According to the commentator of the *Mémoires secrets*, “his head of a vestal expresses more regret than recollection; one would think her less a priestess of Antiquity than a present-day recluse, for whom a gloomy sadness is only too often the attribute; apart from that, its execution is superb” (Fort 1999, p. 246). The mortal blow came from Diderot: “The personal touches that are there—hard and dry. Nothing of nobility” (Diderot, *Salon de 1781*; Diderot 1995, p. 360).

Every year, three hundred and fifty impoverished young women were paraded, veiled, before the pope (or a cardinal) in the Roman church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva. All received dowries so that they might enter a convent or marry; those who made the former choice came first, crowned with flowers, symbols of their virginity. Julien could have witnessed this ceremony while he was a pensionnaire of the Académie de France in Rome, from 1768 to 1772. A French traveler gave a waggish account of the scene: “A congregation of sixty gentlemen voluntarily put together a fund to marry or cloister three hundred and fifty girls each year. . . . On the feast of the Annunciation the pope and the sacred college are to be found in the Minerva; the pope celebrates a high mass, or some cardinal officiates in his absence, and all the girls confess and receive communion. Once that is over these girls, dressed in white serge and enveloped like ghosts in a large sheet that covers their heads . . . enter the choir two by two . . . and kneel at the feet of the pope, or of the cardinal who assumes his function. A certain official designated for the purpose stands alongside with a bowl of small white bags, each of which contains a fifty-scudi bill for those who choose marriage or a hundred-scudi bill for those who prefer the convent. Each girl, having humbly declared her choice, is given her bag. . . . The future nuns are distinguished by a garland of flowers that crowns their virginity; they also have the place of honor in the procession. Out of the three hundred and fifty there were only thirty-two who wished to do Saint Paul’s best [i.e., to dedicate themselves to the religious life]. The other three hundred and eighteen were content to do well: they would rather *maritarsi* than *monacarsi* [wed than become nuns]” (Andrieux 1962, p. 259 n. 16).

There is little difference between the terracotta and the marble busts. In changing the title in 1781, the artist may have been trying to accommodate the public, which was accustomed to evocations of priestesses of Vesta, especially after Clodion’s terracottas and Boizot’s biscuit porcelains (to mention only examples by sculptors). Edifying genre subjects, such as the awarding of prizes to *rosières*, virtuous maidens crowned with roses, or portraits of ingenues, were popular: see, for example, *La Chercheuse d’esprit*, a 1774 terracotta by Claude-François Attiret, after the heroine of Favart’s comic opera (Dijon and Orléans 1992, p. 60, ill.); and *Little Lise* by Jean-



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128 (profile)

Antoine Houdon, 1775 (Réau 1964, vol. 1, pp. 411–12, vol. 2, pl. LXXXII). The story told in the *Mémoires secrets* in 1778 about the *Lise* is akin to that of Julien's young girl: "In 1774 the City [of Paris], instead of supporting the comte d'Artois's inconsequential fetes in honor of marriage, came up with the idea of marrying off the girls; among them was Mlle Lise. When she presented herself in order to register, she was asked who her beau was. She replied that she had none, that she thought the City was supplying everything, and the City did indeed choose her a husband" (*Mémoires secrets*, vol. 11, April 19, 1778,

p. 198). Julien's maiden, with her modest face, is similar to the young women created by Attiret and Houdon some years earlier.

The terracotta is a work of great refinement. The wreath of roses placed on the young girl's head, marking her as a future nun, is fastened on either side by two long tresses, which raise the veil at the sides. Some locks escape, giving the coiffure—which might otherwise have been rather severe—a touch of youthfulness and fantasy. The bust, including the shoulders, was modeled on a small quadrangular support, also in clay and left visible



Fig. 176
Julien, *Head of a Vestal*,
1781, marble. Paris,
Archives Nationales,
Musée de l'Histoire de France

at the back. This highly finished piece directly anticipated the marble, the execution of which followed without delay. With her childlike face this pensive young woman, so painstakingly dressed, is a touching image. With great sensitivity Julien achieves the sense of a natural figure's physique beneath the ceremonial garb. The eyes are incised and the gaze alert; the half-open lips seem to breathe. The irregular veil around the face casts a delicate shadow over it. Such quality indicates the care Julien took with his first Salon presentation, where the present work was exhibited with his reception piece, which resolved his vexed relationship with the Académie.

GS

129

JEAN-BAPTISTE STOUF

Paris, 1742–Charenton-le-Pont, 1826

Woman Frightened by a Thunderclap That Has Just Shattered a Tree beside Her

Terracotta, 61 × 37 × 28 cm (24 × 14½ × 11 in.)
Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Sculptures (RF 4652)

PROVENANCE

Guillaume de Gontaut-Biron, marquis de Biron (1859–1939); sale brought together under his name, Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, June 9–11, 1914, no. 91, ill. (Boizot, *Le Coup de vent*); acquired at this sale by Pape (annotated catalogue, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes); sale, coll. Mme J. Brasseur (of Lille), Paris, Hôtel Drouot, May 26–28, 1919, no. 380, ill. (Boizot); Sir Robert Abdy; sale, Monaco, Sotheby's, February 26–27, 1992, no. 150, ill.; Karl Lagerfeld; his sale, Monaco, Christie's, April 29, 2000, no. 367, ill.; preempted by the state for the Société des Amis du Louvre; gift of the Société des Amis du Louvre, 2000

EXHIBITION

Possibly Paris, Salon of 1798, no. 547 (Woman frightened by a thunderclap that has just shattered a tree beside her. Terracotta)

REFERENCES

Scherf 2000, passim, ill.; Scherf in Musée du Louvre 2002, pp. 74–77, no. 34, ill.

Jean-Baptiste Stouf exhibited a *Woman Frightened by a Thunderclap That Has Just Shattered a Tree beside Her* in the Salon of 1798, which may be the present unsigned statuette. A signed terracotta on an analogous subject is mentioned under Stouf's name in two catalogues of Paris sales: that of the collection of Mme Barbier de la Bonnetière, May 16, 1859, no. 321: "Niobe. Statuette in bronze-colored terracotta. Height 55. Signed Stouf" and that of baron de La Tour du Pin, February 26, 1894, no. 105: "The Gust of Wind. Terracotta. Signed." These citations posit the probable existence of another version, signed, now lost or unlocated.

The work's lengthy title emphasizes its narrative, almost literary character. Evidence of a new sensibility, this is a genre sculpture, devoid of any historical reference, a type that was rare at this date. The work went unnoticed at the Salon, except by the critic of the *Mercur de France* (vol. 37, the year VII; McWilliam, Schuster, and Wrigley 1991, p. 112, no. 535), who remarked sourly that "it is difficult to make anything more contorted and farther removed from good taste." The painter Féréol de Bonnemaïson referred to it directly in a picture exhibited at the next Salon in 1799: *A Young Woman, Having Walked out into the Countryside, Is Caught in a Storm* (fig. 177). The painting was much admired, in particular the transparent drapery billowing in the gusty wind. These two works are fairly representative of the dramatic and sentimental atmosphere that permeated French art at the close of the eighteenth century, and in which Stouf, together with Prud'hon and Girodet, was one of the most significant personalities. This new spirit centered on the sublime, that is, things in nature and art that affect "the mind with a sense of overwhelming grandeur or irresistible power; calculated to inspire awe, deep reverence, or lofty emotion, by reason of its beauty, vastness, or grandeur" (*Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed.).

The attire à l'antique of this young woman, whose short hair is bound in a headband, following Directoire fashion, is swelled by the stormy blast, which shatters the tree trunk and scatters its branches over the ground. Her silhouette, bent by the wind's violence, her visage, frightened by the thunderclap, and her disordered hair illustrate human frailty in the face of the raging elements. Edmund Burke wrote that "whatever is qualified to cause terror, is a foundation capable of the sublime," in *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1757; first translated into French in 1765 [Oxford and New York, 1990], p. 119). The idea of the sublime underlay the novels of Samuel



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129 (reverse)

Richardson (1689–1761), followed shortly thereafter in France by Rousseau in *La Nouvelle Héloïse* (1761) and by Diderot in his commentaries on painting (especially his *Salon* of 1767). The public was moved by confrontations between human vulnerability and the unleashed forces of nature. For example, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's novel *Paul et Virginie* (1789) was a great success. In its final scene the heroine finds herself alone in the storm, and “the sight of this charming person exposed to such a terrible danger fills us with sorrow and despair.” Stouf's heroine, however, does not show Virginie's “noble and

assured bearing” but is utterly consumed by terror. This work could be an allegory of the “inclemencies of the passions” (*Julie, or The New Heloise*, trans. Philip Stewart and Jean Vaché, vol. 6 of *The Collected Writings of Rousseau* [Hanover and London, 1997], p. 289), but it may not be too fanciful to see in it an allusion to the revolutionary storms that had dislocated so many lives. Several works at the end of the century certainly presented metaphorical comments on political upheaval.

In this fairly large statuette Stouf has admirably rendered the body language of the woman bent by the blast, as the wind lifts her veil and blows it wide, a superb plastic effect that harks back notably to the classical *Niobe*, the canonical source for this type of image (Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 274–79, no. 66, figs. 143–47). The distraught head, with mouth half open and wild locks, recalls that of the *Young Woman in Affliction* (cat. no. 32). But the *Woman Frightened by a Thunderclap* lacks the other's incised eyes; her eyes are blank in the antique manner, as if to emphasize the contrast between the Neo-classical female conformation and the Romantic wind that disrupts its appearance.

This singular work, at once a genre scene and an epic and allegorical piece, has been masterfully executed. It was covered with a light coat of orange that does not obscure the energetic modeling. The ample drapery, alternating between broad solids and deep folds, ends above the base with an astonishing baroque flourish; the head, well clear of the hollow formed by the veil, is captured in profile and inspires the viewer to circle the work; the back is spectacular, with the branch broken off by the storm, a borrowing from nature that is very rare in sculpture. The remarkable fall of the leaves, parallel with the still-standing trunk (which backs up the figure), contrasts with the abstract volume of the inflated veil.

GS

130

JOHANN VALENTIN SONNENSCHNEN

Stuttgart, 1749 – Bern, 1828

Pastor Samuel Hopf

Terracotta, 36.5 × 26.5 cm. (14 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Inscribed, on plinth at right: V. SONNENSCHNEN 1787
Bern, Bernisches Historisches Museum (5232)

PROVENANCE

Acquired by the museum, 1904

REFERENCES

Breitbart 1911, pp. 291–92, 297, pl. xviii, no. 4; *Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz* 1921–34, vol. 4, p. 287; Bucher 1989, vol. 1, p. 176, vol. 2, p. 165



Fig. 177
Féréol de Bonnemaïson,
*A Young Woman, Having
Walked out into the
Countryside, Is Caught in a
Storm*, Salon of 1799, oil on
canvas. New York, Brooklyn
Museum of Art



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Samuel Hopf (1726–1787) was named pastor of the Nydeckkirche in Bern in 1762. Throughout his life he was a greatly admired clergyman, and after his death the faithful remembered him for his bequest of 10,000 livres to a fund for widows and orphans he had established in Thun.

The commissioner of this statuette is not known, but it was made in 1787, the year of Hopf's death. The present work and the statuette of Wolfgang Carl von Gingis (Musée Romand, château La Sarraz) are among the earliest dated examples of this genre that Sonnenschein successfully introduced to Bern. He made these commemorative portraits, the most intimate of his works, from 1787 to 1808.

Seated in a desk chair, the pastor leans on the armrest and reads from a book (perhaps the Bible). His informal garments, natural posture, and facial expression create an atmosphere of peaceful spiritual concentration in a domestic setting. Breitbart regarded it as one of Sonnenschein's finest statuettes.

Like other comparable works in a reduced format, its most direct antecedents were in France, where Great Men representations, popular from 1776 to 1787 (see cat. nos. 111, 112), were circulated in Sèvres biscuit reductions. Sonnenschein here presents a delightful vision of the everyday in an adaptation of grand form. BVR

JOHANN VALENTIN SONNENSCHNEN

Stuttgart, 1749–Bern, 1828

The Poet

Terracotta, 44.5 × 32.8 × 8.5 cm (17½ × 12⅞ × 3⅜ in.); with wood frame, 58.3 × 46 × 10.5 cm (23 × 18½ × 4¼ in.)

Inscribed, at bottom right: v. SONNENSCHNEN 1780
Bern, Kunstmuseum (P. 128)

PROVENANCE

Acquired by the museum, before 1911

REFERENCES

Breitbart 1911, p. 297, pl. XIX; Kunstmuseum, Bern 1986, pp. 22–23, no. 24, ill.; Bucher 1989, vol. 1, p. 171, vol. 2, w42, p. 140

In a Louis XVI interior an elderly man, wearing a dressing gown, is seated at a console table, absorbed in his books. Decorative elements include a relief (or perhaps more likely a statuette) of Apollo above the table and a relief on the paneling of the profile of an ancient philosopher framed by a laurel wreath. These two images perhaps refer to the great Swiss poet Salomon Gessner, whose Zurich office, decorated by Sonnenschein, contained a stucco relief of Apollo (fig. 178; see Lutz in Zurich 1992–93, p. 24, fig. 13). The poet sits awkwardly hunched at the console table, and the work's proportions are often infelicitous (compare, for example, the size of the table and of the man). Sonnenschein was more interested in creating a convincing atmosphere than achieving accuracy in his genre scene.

In its original mounting, the relief is protected by a box that serves as its frame. In this form it recurs in



CLÉMENCE-SOPHIE DE SERMÉZY

Lyon, 1767–Charentay, 1850

Man Holding a Little Girl on His Knees

Terracotta, 24 × 25 × 14 cm (9½ × 9⅞ × 5½ in.)

Inscribed: on top of base, right side: *janvie[r] 182]4 / D C S de Sermézy* (January [182]4 / by C S de Sermézy)

Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts (1989–5)

PROVENANCE

Sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot-Montaigne, November 22, 1987, no. 110, ill.; acquired by the museum in 1989

REFERENCES

Philippe Durey in Lyon 1989–90, p. 153; “Acquisitions” 1990, p. 79, ill.

Clémence-Sophie de Sermézy, no doubt a student of Joseph Chinard in the years about 1800, must have begun rather early to model terracotta groups inspired by antique or religious themes. Most of these, however, disappeared when her studio in the place Bellecour, Lyon, was ransacked in 1815. Several years later she began to create works with subjects taken from daily life, such as *The Consultation* (dated 1821; Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts) and *The Game of Chess* (dated 1821; Lyon, Musée des Arts Décoratifs; see Tapissier 1936, pp. 51–56, 65–68). “We owe to her . . . the exploration of a field that until then had been very little frequented by sculptors, that of scenes of daily life: treated realistically and depicting members of her circle, the small terracotta statuettes that she turned out in quantity beginning early in the 1820s largely anticipate those produced by the Romantics during the following decade” (Philippe Durey in Lyon 1989–90, p. 140). At the same time, also in terracotta, Sermézy treated narrative themes influenced by the theater (*Othello and Desdemona*, dated 1829, private collection) and by Troubadour art, then much in vogue in



Fig. 178
Sonnenschein, *Apollo*,
about 1776, plaster.
Zurich, Münsterergasse 9



Fig. 179
Sonnenschein,
*Portrait of the
Poet*, 1781,
terracotta. Bern,
Kunstmuseum

another work by Sonnenschein, as a picture within a picture: a relief of 1781, oval in form, titled *Portrait of the Poet* (fig. 179; Kunstmuseum, Bern 1986, pp. 22–23, no. 25, ill.), depicting a family gathered before the portrait which an aged woman is showing to a small naked child. The relief may not represent an ideal poet; like other of the sculptor's commemorative statuettes, it may honor a deceased person as yet unidentified. One detail remains to be explained: the lack of a pupil in the poet's right eye.

BVR



Fig. 180
Sermézy,
Lady Advising a Page,
1824, terracotta.
Paris, Musée du Petit Palais



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Lyon (fig. 180, *Lady Advising a Page*, dated 1824, Paris, Musée du Petit Palais; *Pierre of Provence and the Lovely Maguelonne*, dated 1829, private collection). Pierre Révoil frequented her salon, and she did the portrait of Fleury Richard (both of these leading Troubadour painters were natives of Lyon).

The present group deals with domestic intimacy. The father of the family, wearing a dressing gown and seated in a large, comfortable armchair, dandles his little girl on his knees. Images of peaceful bourgeois life such as this were very much in the spirit of the time. The touching exchange between adult and child is rendered with restrained sensibility. A break in the clay makes part of the date illegible.

GS

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BARTOLOMEO PINELLI

Rome, 1781–Rome, 1835

The Brigand Bizzarro about to Slay His Son (to Silence the Child)

Inscribed on front of base: *Pinelli fc. [fecit / fece] Roma 1831*
Terracotta, 45.4 × 32.4 × 27.3 cm (17⁷/₈ × 12³/₄ × 10³/₄ in.)
New York, private collection

PROVENANCE

France, private collection



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This terracotta represents an 1822 incident involving the *brigante* (brigand) Bizzarro. Accounts of the bandit's life vary, although the central soap opera narrative remains constant. In 1799 Francesco Muscato, a servant in Calabria called "Bizzarro" or "Vizzarro," had a love affair with the daughter of his employer, who refused Muscato's request to legalize the liaison. Following several intricate turns of events, his career as an outlaw with a vendetta began. After the death of his first paramour, Bizzarro, his new companion Nicolina Licciardi, and their infant son were surrounded by the authorities. They escaped, taking refuge in a grotto (or under a bridge). When the

baby began to cry, Bizzarro either dashed out his brains or, alternatively, strangled or suffocated the *bambino* to prevent discovery. When the exhausted brigand fell asleep, the mother shot him, cut off his head as the Old Testament Judith had decapitated the tyrant Holofernes, and claimed the 1,000 *ducati* reward (Pennacchia 1998, pp. 80–84; Mammucari 2000, pp. 230–34). According to a handwritten account in English (dated 1825), which accompanied several of Bartolomeo Pinelli's illustrations of Bizzarro's career, Nicolina claimed the bounty in Rome rather than in a southern Italian town (Rome 1983, pp. 124–25). This more Roman-oriented version reflects



Fig. 181
John Flaxman, *The Fury of Athamas*, 1790–94,
marble. Suffolk, Ickworth House

the artist's taste for *romanismo*. Unsurprisingly the adept illustrator selected as the subject of this terracotta group the scene of the infanticide, the most pathetic, climactic episode in Bizzarro's story.

Since medieval times brigandage had been a complicated social problem in central and southern Italy. During the nineteenth century *briganti* were viewed not so much as common criminals but as popular heroes embodying contemporary social and political ideals. Early in the century brigands challenged the authority of the French occupiers of the Italian boot, and after the Congress of Vienna they were regarded as anti-Bourbon symbols of freedom and the common people. For Pinelli, who fought briefly with the Roman volunteers against the French in 1799, *briganti* embodied pre-Risorgimento nationalistic ideals. After Schiller's play *Die Räuber* (1781) presented the brigands' life, they were romanticized in French and Italian art, literature, and music. The theme also appeared in England, where a number of Pinelli's patrons lived (the artist's prolific production of prints and watercolors of these colorful figures probably played a pivotal role in this widespread vogue). Pinelli began representing brigands at least by 1812, concentrating on them from 1822 to 1824, shortly after the sensational Bizzarro scandal, when demand was high. He also depicted the adventures of Gasparone [Gasbarrone] and Massaroni, two other famous bandits, but most of his works in this vein feature generic brigands from Lazio or the Papal States.

The subject's folkloric roots are not ignored (the dog was modeled on one of the artist's own Molossians [cat. no. 5]). As was his custom, however, Pinelli based the composition on well-known Neoclassical and ancient works, which would have given his clients the requisite aesthetic frisson. Canova's *Hercules and Lichas* has been cited as Pinelli's prototype for this subject. However, his primary inspiration was more likely Flaxman's *Fury of*

Athamas (fig. 181), which the English artist executed in Rome. In visual and literary terms it more neatly parallels Bizzarro's story and Pinelli's composition, representing the tragic tale in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* where Athamas is about to kill one of his sons, while his wife beseeches him to stop. Furthermore, Flaxman's artistic influence on Pinelli was significant, as seen in his simplicity of draftsmanship with its directness of outline. Pinelli surely felt a kinship with the Englishman, who like him was a sculptor and illustrator with a pre-Romantic bent toward the bizarre, a tendency that flourished in the veritable melting pot of florid artistic talents that populated Rome in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Pinelli executed at least two other terracottas of this notorious infanticide, neither indebted to the same prototype nor as physically dramatic. The first, more anecdotal example is dated 1827 (Rome 1956, p. 195, no. IV, pl. XLVIII); the second, dated 1835, is known only from an etching in the unfinished series after his terracottas (*Gruppi pittoreschi modellati in terra-cotta da Bartolomeo Pinelli . . .*, pl. 21), published posthumously (Rome 1956, no. 36; Rome 1983, p. 326). Pinelli also chronicled Bizzarro's tale in extant drawings and watercolors, most of which relate to series. One group, dated 1823, accompanies the aforementioned English account (Rome 1983, nos. 107–10, ill.). It includes the only two-dimensional rendition known where Pinelli poised the baby over Bizzarro's head (fig. 182), as in the present terracotta, whereas he usually placed the infant in a stranglehold at the brigand's side, as in one watercolor from a series of four dated 1823 (Rome 1956, nos. 169, 170, 170bis [a preparatory study], 171 [Museo di Roma, no. 2609, Bietolletti and Dantini 2002, pp. 104–5, ill.], 172), as well as a watercolor of the subject signed and dated 1833 by the artist's son, Achille Pinelli (Rome, Museo di Roma, no. 3960). For a more moralizing series by Pinelli, dated 1824, see Rome 1983, nos. 111–16, ill., which cites yet another group, also dated 1824.

RJMO



Fig. 182
Pinelli, *The Brigand Bizzarro
Preparing to Kill His Son*, 1823,
black ink over graphite. Whereabouts
unknown

Religious Subjects

A recent picture book on sacred art goes without pause from Bernini to Delacroix, alluding only to “crises” in the church to account for this leap across the centuries.¹ In fact, much religious art of considerable power and quality was produced during the ancien régime in France and elsewhere during the period that concerns us. Art for churches constituted most of the output of a sculptor in Italy or Flanders, for example, throughout the decades leading up to the Revolution, and even those French sculptors we might consider representative of the Enlightenment—Bouchardon, Lemoyne, Pigalle, Falconet, Pajou, Houdon, Lecomte, and even Clodion—tackled religious subjects gladly and more often than not showed flashes of genius in the process. There is no evidence that they undertook these commissions reluctantly or only for gain. Many of their ecclesiastical works were destroyed in France as well as in large tracts of Europe during the French Republican army’s occupation. A great deal, however, which had been displaced, was saved and protected because of the growth of what might be called the museum mentality, especially in Paris, with the activity of Alexandre Lenoir and the Musée des Monuments Français.

Let our story begin with some types of sculpture that would impress a young artist coming from France and visiting Italian churches. He would most likely go to Florence and Naples as well as Rome. In Naples he could not miss the virtuoso carving of the shrouded Christs, especially the marble by Sanmartino, but exemplified in this exhibition by Antonio Corradini’s terracotta (cat. no. 134). Hardly less marvelous in the seeming transparency of their draperies were the marble figures of Virtues by Corradini in Rome (Palazzo Barberini) and by Spinazzi in Florence (cat. no. 21). These would later be defined as Late Baroque achievements, but for the Neo-classical generations they contained valuable lessons in analytical structure and simplification. It was not really a question of influence. As with many Italian creations, the works mentioned would have been deemed too flamboyant to merge tastefully into the cooler idioms of the French and perhaps difficult to reconcile with the study of classical antiquity. *Stranieri* from all nations looked intensely at statuary of all sorts and learned a great lesson: how to organize drapery and make it seem to express character. The *Pietà* by Breton masses drapery à la Michelangelo for maximally plaintive effect (cat. no. 135). The tunics of Delaistre’s angels bare their legs to define their youthfulness (cat. nos. 136, 137). The draperies of Martos’s Evangelists are solemnly meditated to invest the subjects with appropriate authority (cat.

no. 142). By this late date these inventions are no longer necessarily Italianate, but artists studying in Italy certainly gained enhanced notions of the rhetorical possibilities in the imitation of cloth and its windings, just as Italians themselves, encouraged by Canova’s mastery at drapery, went on outdoing themselves, as in the Lamentation perhaps attributable to Pacetti (cat. no. 141). It goes without saying that no medium was better suited to representing drapery than the elastic material of clay, so capable of adding to the dignity and color of a subject.

The exhibition includes two extraordinary single-figure icons, the one Catholic, the other Protestant: Canova’s *Virgin* and Dannecker’s *Christ* (cat. nos. 139, 138). Each is perfectly satisfactory in itself, but neither should be viewed in a vacuum. About the time of Dannecker’s *Christ*, Canova considered, and Thorvaldsen achieved, colossal figures of the Savior. Canova’s would have been seen frontally at the top of several steps, seeming to step forward from a throne whose arms are formed by angelic caryatids. Radiating light, he would have spread his own arms in an embrace of humankind (fig. 183).² Since this amazing concept never left Canova’s drawing board, it is unlikely that either of the two Protestant sculptors, Dannecker or Thorvaldsen, knew anything about it. On the other hand, both Canova and Thorvaldsen were probably able to view at some leisure Dannecker’s plans for his *Christ*: Canova in 1815, when he stopped in Stuttgart on his way from Paris to Rome, Thorvaldsen in 1819, when he traveled between Rome and Copenhagen. The swaying motion of Dannecker’s *Christ* did not affect either. What spoke with overwhelming eloquence was its passionate simplicity, which Thorvaldsen surely bore in mind for his *Christ*. Torso partly bared like that of a Greek god, the latter reaches out his arms to visitors entering the Lutheran cathedral of Copenhagen. We illustrate the plaster (fig. 184); the marble, planned from 1819, was carved between 1827 and 1833. Thorvaldsen, living “in sin” with an Italian woman who bore him children, never took communion in the Catholic faith, and the Danish church also regarded him askance, but he brought off the grandest of all expressions of religion’s universal embrace—a figure incarnating the message inscribed on its base: “Come unto me.”³

Romantic Europe, led by the pioneering German Nazarene painters, insisted on returning to Renaissance and especially pre-Renaissance styles and motifs. Canova, Dannecker, and Thorvaldsen were never deaf to the appeal of early periods but assimilated motifs, merging them in a sedate majesty. Each of the three became so



Fig. 183
Canova, *Christ*,
about 1806, black chalk.
Possagno, Fondazione Canova



Fig. 184
Thorvaldsen, *Christ*, 1821,
plaster. Copenhagen,
Thorvaldsens Museum



Fig. 185
Probably French, *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*,
about 1830–40, terracotta.
Paris, Musée du Louvre

authoritative as to dominate sculptural style for decades to come. A Lamentation in the Louvre, perhaps French, perhaps as late as 1830–40, shows how a number of precedents could be brought together in a somewhat piecemeal fashion (fig. 185).⁴ The central group's overall triangulation and solemnity are indebted to Canova and Thorvaldsen; the rigid Christ recalls Emilian and Lombard Renaissance traditions of ceramic sculpture; the mourner at right, completely cloaked, comes out of medieval types, specifically the hooded figures of Claus Sluter at Dijon; and the Magdalen curling at Christ's feet is a quotation from Fra Bartolommeo's famous *Lamentation with Saints Peter and Paul* (Florence, Palazzo Pitti).⁵ Engravings after such sources became common in the eighteenth century, but borrowings of this sort by sculptors, if they took place at all, would not have stood out so forcefully in earlier Neoclassicism. Part of the Romantic contribution to church art was to allow Neo-Gothic elements to emerge more conspicuously, sometimes rather quaintly.

Rome and Milan both witnessed a new burst of activity in church art after 1800. Paris, regaining its central importance once the return of the Bourbons in 1814 guaranteed a reentrenched church, also saw an efflorescence of religious sculpture, only now it arose from completely diverse mentalities, from the pristine lapidaries of later Neoclassicism, Bosio, Marochetti, and Triqueti, to the Romantics Rude and Préault, with their passionately rugged bronzes.⁶ Terracotta appears to have played a diminished role in the plans of both camps.

In the end, we can only guess as to the degree of artists' personal piety and involvement in church life. Thanks to his early diary, we know that the young Canova had been fairly assiduous in his attendance at mass.⁷ We know the rekindling of religion in Dannecker.⁸ After the resurgence of the Catholic faith on both sides of the Alps, it is likely that artists as unlike as Breton and Pacetti were equally receptive. At least some of our sculptors must have been conscious of partaking in a godlike creativity. Most translations of Isaiah 64:8 assign the role of creator to a potter, not a sculptor, but the invitation to assist in God's designs cannot have been lost on those with ears to hear: "Yet, O Lord, thou art our Father; we are the clay, and thou art our potter; we are all the work of thy hand."

JDD

1. Plazaola 2001, p. 216.

2. For related drawings by Canova and sources from early mosaics and Correggio to Flaxman, see Mariuz and Pavanello 1999, pp. 118–23, no. 42.

3. For preliminary studies by Thorvaldsen, sources in ancient art and in both Scandinavian and Italian art, and the statue's history, see Gravgaard and Henschen 1997.

4. See Gaborit in Musée du Louvre 1996, pp. 121–22, no. 32, ill.

5. Florence 1996, no. 23, ill.

6. See Leroy-Jay Lemaistre in Paris 1986b, pp. 195–207. Late Neoclassical and Romantic ecclesiastical sculpture follows curves in painting traced by Driskel 1992.

7. Canova 1994, pp. 43, 54, for example.

8. Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 1, p. 412.

ANTONIO CORRADINI

1688–1752

Veiled Christ

Terracotta, later mounted on slate, 29 × 58 × 31 cm (11³/₈ × 22⁷/₈ × 12¹/₄ in.)

Naples, Museo Nazionale di San Martino (13524)

PROVENANCE

Probably one of thirty-six models by Corradini for the sculptures in the chapel of Raimondo di Sangro, prince of Sansevero (mentioned by Origlia 1753–54, vol. 2, p. 367), which apparently remained in the prince's possession; acquired by the museum from Aquin Aymè in 1914

REFERENCES

Catalani 1845, p. 133; Riccoboni 1952, p. 157, ill.; Alparone 1957, pp. 179–85, ill.; Picone 1959, pp. 108–14, ill.; Semenzato 1966, p. 112; Fittipaldi 1973, pp. 72–73, ill.; Borrelli 1974, pp. 185–89, ill.; Schlegel 1978, pp. 119–22; Fittipaldi in Naples and Caserta 1979–80, no. 303; Fittipaldi 1980, pp. 110–12, 140–42, ill.; Nava Cellini 1982, pp. 197–200, ill.; Cioffi 1984, pp. 563–64 n. 17; Cioffi 1987, pp. 56–57, 61–63, fig. 50; Cogo 1996, pp. 331–35, no. 53, ill.; Middione 2001, pp. 83–84, no. 23, ill.

Modern criticism generally assigns this model to Antonio Corradini, a gifted Venetian sculptor who worked throughout Europe before settling in Naples in 1749. There he collaborated with Raimondo di Sangro, prince of Sansevero, on the extraordinary embellishments of that savant-prince's family chapel, adjacent to his palace in the heart of the city. Corradini, who had been *Hofstatuarius* (chief sculptor) to the emperor Charles VI, was famous for his figures of veiled allegorical figures. James Stuart, the Old Pretender, and Pope Benedict XIV both visited his studio in Rome to view the veiled *Vestal Tuccia* (Rome, Palazzo Barberini; Cogo 1996, p. 297, fig. 110).

Until his death in 1752 Corradini worked like a demon to meet the prince's extravagant demands for the chapel, notably for a new veiled figure, *Modesty*, in the manner of the *Tuccia*. He was reported to have left no fewer than thirty-six terracotta models for the chapel's sculptures (Origlia 1753–54, vol. 2, p. 367); the present work is presumably one of them. Here, in a virtuosic performance, a winding-sheet discloses rather than conceals the dead Christ. The model's decorative aspects prove Corradini's authorship. The foamy heads of the cherubim, typically Venetian, appear throughout his work, and the shroud's leafy border repeats that of *Modesty's* veil. Although the recumbent dead Christ was a staple of Neapolitan religious imagery long before Corradini's arrival, a veiled Christ was apparently new. The prince not only drew upon the latter's known skill at veiling but also may have urged him to a more expressive physical and spiritual representation.

So adept was Corradini at visualizing the prince's rec-
ondite fancies that for years after the master's death, even
the most successful of the sculptors who succeeded him
in the prince's employ—Francesco Celebrano, Francesco
Queirolo, and Giuseppe Sanmartino—appear to have
followed his models. Writing to the physicist Abbé Jean-
Antoine Nollet, one of his many friends in international
Enlightenment circles, the prince reported on the marble
version of the *Veiled Christ* (fig. 186): “in the middle of
this crypt will be placed a lifesize marble representing
our Savior the dead Jesus Christ, covered by a shroud
realized in the same block of marble, but made with such
art that it leaves the most seasoned observers stupefied. It
is the work of one of my sculptors, a young Neapolitan
named Giuseppe Sanmartino” (Sangro 1754, n.p.; see
Cioffi 1987, p. 55). Sanmartino's authorship of the marble
is proclaimed by the prominent signature and date (1753)
below the cushion, but the phrase “one of my sculptors”
implies the prince's close supervision of the whole. In
fact, apart from the base, Sanmartino followed the pres-
ent model by Corradini fairly faithfully. Corradini left
clear information for a carver, such as spaces between
cushions and tassels, so that the surface would be viv-
idly active. Simplifying the design, Sanmartino made
the marble rather starker and more compact, eliminat-
ing the cherubim perhaps because of changes in taste or
perhaps because it was difficult to make out these details
in the dark crypt.

The prince, as quoted, stated that Sanmartino's *Christ*
would occupy the crypt, underneath the large Deposition
relief carved by Celebrano, undoubtedly after Corradini's
model. The *Christ* now stands in the center of the chapel,
drawing visitors' eyes from the bizarre allegorical groups
that surround it. Among those visitors was the marquis
de Sade in the winter of 1755–56. The *Christ* had not yet
been moved to the middle but lay in a corner on the floor
(Sade 1967, p. 430). Another distinguished observer, the
young Antonio Canova, admired the *Christ* more than
he did Corradini's veiled *Modesty* (Canova 1994, p. 103).



Fig. 186
Sanmartino, *Veiled Christ*, 1753, marble.
Naples, Cappella Sansevero



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A rather tortured discussion of the design's evolution followed Ursula Schlegel's claim that the present work is by Sanmartino and that a terracotta on the same theme in the Skulpturensammlung, Berlin, is by Corradini (Schlegel 1978, pp. 119–22, no. 30). She has been correctly refuted by Neapolitan scholars (see Cioffi 1987, Cogo 1996, and Middione 2001 for fuller accounts). The excellent Berlin terracotta is far wirier than Sanmartino's works; his mellifluous style is evident from his earliest terracotta (see Hecht 2002). Other candidates for models of the *Veiled Christ* by Corradini or Sanmartino have either disappeared from view or do not have just claims (see, for example, one called "circle of Sanmartino" in the Los Angeles County Museum [Schaefer and Fusco 1987, p. 166]).

Rosanna Cioffi has written astutely about Masonic overtones in the chapel's sculptures (Cioffi 1987). Both Corradini and Sansevero were Freemasons, the prince in particular being ardently involved with the order before its condemnation first by Benedict XIV in 1751 and later by Charles III of Naples. The Masonic creed borrowed freely from Christian notions of mystery, illumination, and resurrection. Masons were urged to dis-

play "a sincere and invisible zeal for religion," and one of the chapel's allegories represents *Zeal for Religion* (Cioffi 1987, pp. 106–7). Masonic elements in the *Veiled Christ* are less evident, but Cioffi illustrates a highly suggestive engraving in which a Masonic initiate lies prone and veiled in the middle of a room (her fig. 62).

In Corradini and Sanmartino alike, the Christ appears to have been dead for only a short time. Both works have a Baroque quality of frozen spasm, and several commentators have mentioned the precedent of Gian Lorenzo Bernini's *Beata Ludovica Albertoni* (finished 1674, in San Francesco a Ripa, Rome). Despite the sculptors' apparent familiarity with the winding drapery of the ancients, both use their expertise to serve essentially Late Baroque rather than Neoclassical ends. The mood becomes slightly calmer in Sanmartino, and the overall simplicity of the marble would make it an icon of early Neoclassicism, but the image remains peculiarly buoyant as if in defiance of the tragic subject.

The present model is probably that noted by Catalani in 1845 in a private collection: he mentioned departures from the marble but assumed the model was also by Sanmartino ("Some heirs and descendants of that

[Sansevero's] family today possess the original bozzetto in terracotta of this dead Christ, with however some changes which are not seen in the work executed in marble" [Catalani 1845, p. 133]). The piece itself has suffered, and when it came to the museum, it was broken through the middle. The losses were ameliorated with plaster repairs, none extensive, and the work acquired its slate base; the latter has recently received a coat of tinted composition to make it less obtrusive. The recent removal of red paint has revealed a clay that is a pleasing apricot to orangy buff in color. JDD

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LUC FRANÇOIS BRETON

Besançon, 1731–Besançon, 1800

Pietà

Terracotta, 60 × 70 × 40 cm (23 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)
Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale

PROVENANCE

Perhaps given by the sculptor to the attorney Jean-Jacques Ordinaire, deputy to the Assemblée Constituante, subsequently mayor of Besançon; given "to the class of modern sculptures" in the school of design (Weiss 1821, pp. 147–48) by his son, Jean-Jacques Ordinaire (1770–1843), linguist and rector of the university of Besançon, before 1821

EXHIBITION

Besançon 1906, no. 310

REFERENCES

Weiss 1821, pp. 147–48; Castan 1887, pp. 265–66; Gauthier 1899, pp. 668–69, no. 31, p. 673 ("marble"); Lami 1910–11, vol. 1, p. 132; Cornillot 1940, pp. 45, 59, 65, 83–87, 112, 118

On the arrival of Luc Breton in Rome in 1770, the dean of the chapter of the collegiate church of Notre-Dame in Arbois (Jura), Abbé Domet de Mont, commissioned a *Pietà* from him. The project came to nothing, "and the *Pietà* remained in the state of a maquette for several years" (Cornillot 1940, p. 45). It was taken up again in 1783 thanks to the marquise de Ligniville, née La Baume-Montrevel, an admirer of the sculptor (see cat. no. 116). The group, which was finished in 1787, was intended for the church of Saint-Pierre, Besançon, built in 1784–86. It was executed in Tonnerre stone, a limestone well suited to statuary (130 × 160 cm [51 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 63 in.]; signed and dated: *L. Breton F. 1787*; fig. 187; Cornillot 1940, p. 84 ill.) and was placed at the center of an architectural ensemble clearly Roman in influence that Breton had designed (described by Callier 1801, pp. 131–32; quoted by Castan 1888, pp. 104–5 n. 2; Cornillot 1940, pp. 83–85). The group, with the Virgin holding the dead Christ on her

knees at the foot of the Cross, is set on a yellow and red marble pedestal and framed by two marble columns with Corinthian capitals, with gilt-bronze foliage, which support a triangular pediment. During the Revolution the sculpture was housed in the École Centrale, destined for the museum in Besançon. It was restored to the church, perhaps after the Concordat of 1801 (see Besançon 1994–95, p. 81 and fig. 50). A plaster version (Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 917.1.1; 60 × 70 × 40 cm [23 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.]; no inscription, traces of polychromy) was given to the École Gratuite de Peinture et Sculpture of Besançon and is listed in the inventories of the drawings and sculpture models for the use of the students of the school (Besançon, Archives Municipales, 1R19, with letter of September 19, 1815, Cornillot 1940, pp. 132, 134; see Castan 1891, p. 227: "small model in plaster"; Gauthier 1899, p. 673, no. 17; Cornillot 1940, p. 118). As for the terracotta, it was given to the school before 1821 by Jean-Jacques Ordinaire (described as "sketch" by Weiss 1821, pp. 147–48). In 1789 Breton had done the portrait of Ordinaire's father, an attorney, deputy to the Assemblée Constituante, and then mayor of Besançon (plaster, private collection; Cornillot 1940, pp. 62, 122); the sculptor may have given the terracotta *Pietà* to his sitter.

Breton's *Pietà* was famous in the nineteenth century, and a large number of copies are known in the region, in plaster or wood (see esp. Cornillot 1940, pp. 112, 118) and also in the white faïence of Franche-Comté.

Fig. 187
Breton, *Pietà*,
1787, stone.
Besançon, church of
Saint-Pierre



Fig. 188
Nicolas Coustou,
Pietà, 1725, marble.
Paris, cathedral of
Notre-Dame





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The strongly frontal composition reflects diverse influences. Nicolas Coustou's *Pietà*, placed in 1725 in the choir of Notre-Dame in Paris (fig. 188), comes to mind as do paintings (which were engraved) such as that by Annibale Carracci (Naples, Museo di Capodimonte). In Rome Breton had made terracotta copies of the great religious works of the Baroque period (by Bernini and Legros) that are now in the museum in Besançon, and his *Saint Andrew* on the façade of the Roman church of San Claudio dei Borgognoni shows his study of Duquesnoy's statue of the apostle in Saint Peter's Basilica. When he created the model of his *Pietà* soon after his return to Besançon, he was still imbued with those Italian experiences, rich for study and full of various emotions.

The present work is one of extreme pathos. Christ's head is violently thrown back, and his right arm hangs in space, inert; the Virgin supports his left arm in a tender caress (this beautiful gesture is absent in the Coustou; in the Carracci the hand is held by an angel), while her face and extended right arm seem to call on heaven to witness her grief. The terracotta corresponds to the final version in stone, where certain details, such as the crown of thorns, have been added, and can be considered as its

model, probably done in the mid-1780s relying on earlier studies. The model's broad, almost brutal style is familiar in Breton; he used large flattened areas and bold lines, without embellishments. Differentiated aspects of the surface have been evened out—for example, the grooved folds of the draperies, the incised rocks, and the smooth flesh—in favor of a uniform appearance.

The sculpture was not hollowed out before firing. After it was modeled, it was no doubt cut with a wire into several parts in order to be fired (a number of breaks due to the firing are visible) and reassembled once it had left the kiln (multiple joins have been filled in with plaster). A fine, translucent, yellow-orange patina, now very patchy, was applied to the orange terracotta to camouflage the cracks and seals. There were subsequent restorations, at unknown dates: a coat of dark red covered the first wash; then a blackish layer was applied only to the front of the work, as if for installation in a niche or against a wall; in the most recent intervention the piece was covered with a thick, bright orange paint (with crude retouches in a darker shade), which extends onto the plaster that reinforces the foundation of the group as far as the top of the base. For the present exhibition the work was freed of

dust; the fingers of the Virgin's right hand, which had been partly and maladroitly remade in plaster, have been removed; and the last layer of paint has been toned down (thanks to Georges Barthe for information supplied).

gs

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FRANÇOIS-NICOLAS DELAISTRE

Paris, 1746–Paris, 1832

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Angel Holding the Lance and the Sponge

Terracotta, 23.5 × 8.5 × 7.5 cm (9¼ × 3⅜ × 3 in.)
Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie (D.863.3.16)

PROVENANCE

Pierre-Adrien Pâris (1745–1819); bequeathed to the library of Besançon in 1819; deposited at the museum in 1863

REFERENCES

Catalogue manuscrit de la collection de Pierre-Adrien Pâris, Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 3, 1806, no. 76; Weiss 1821, no. 476; Lancrenon 1865, no. 548; Castan 1891, p. 234; Lami 1910–11, vol. 1, p. 262; Desmas 1999, pp. 243–45, fig. 18

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Angel Holding the Crown of Thorns

Terracotta, 22.5 × 10 × 9.5 cm (8⅞ × 4 × 3¾ in.)
Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie (D.863.3.15)

PROVENANCE

See cat. no. 136 above

REFERENCES

See cat. no. 136 above

On March 18, 1787, Pierre-Adrien Pâris, first designer to the Chambre and Cabinet du Roi and architect of the Menus Plaisirs, became architect to the Économats (an authority set up by Louis XIV to manage in particular the properties of Protestants and of vacant bishoprics, which devoted its revenues to religious building projects). In his new capacity Pâris was responsible for continuing the construction of the façade of the cathedral of the Sainte-Croix in Orléans, the sculptural program of which had been conceived and realized in the course of the century by several successive architects: Jacques V Gabriel, Louis-François Trouard (who collaborated with Augustin Pajou), Étienne-François Legrand (who commissioned work from Edme Dumont and Jean-Antoine Houdon; see Paris and New York 1997–98, p. 111; Desmas 1999,

passim). Pâris, a student and friend of Trouard, built the top story of the towers, giving them the form of a crown by creating a circular arcade, whose pillars, surmounted by a dais, served as pedestals for statues of angels intended to stand out against the sky (drawing in the Besançon library, coll. Pâris, E 122; Desmas 1999, fig. 6). The construction was finished in 1790 (fig. 189). Pâris entrusted the execution of the statues to François-Nicolas Delaistre, his fellow student at the Académie de France in Rome. He kept the terracotta sketches, and in the manuscript catalogue of his collection, drawn up in 1806, he described this commission under the number 76: "Eight sketches of angels that I had had done by the same author [Delaistre] to crown the towers of the cathedral in Orléans, 8½ *pouces* high [23 cm (9 in.)]" (Desmas 1999, p. 244). The eight terracottas, all now in

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the Besançon museum, were therefore done between 1787 and 1790: five angels are represented in adoration, while three bear instruments of the Passion: the crown of thorns, the chalice, and the lance and sponge. It is likely that other statuettes, now lost, were created in order to be proposed to Pâris (the cathedral is dedicated to the Holy Cross, but there is no sketch of an angel bearing the cross). The stone angels on the façade have been very much restored, and some completely remade. The *Angel Holding the Crown of Thorns*, replaced on the tower by a copy, is now in the narthex. Its composition is faithful to the sketch, but its realization in stone is dry and disappointing, confirming that the carving was entrusted to assistants (the name of Nogaret, a student of Beauvais, is cited; fig. 190; Desmas 1999, p. 245).

Delaistre's terracottas are very appealing. Anne-Lise

Desmas points out that the sculptor took into consideration the great height at which the statues would be placed: "The necks, the arms, and the legs sculpted rather broadly anticipate the distortion of proportions due to the elevation. The folds of the garments and the partings of hair are very deep in order to create dark areas of shadow that emphasize the relief. Finally, while the forward inclination of the angels certainly expresses their reverence and devotion, it also allows for a better view of the statues *di sotto in su* from the front of the cathedral" (Desmas 1999, pp. 244–45). The statuettes were modeled with balls of clay that were crushed and then smoothed with the knife or the spatula, which accentuates the ridges and gives the whole a particularly sharp-edged appearance. A thin layer of brown was applied to the surface at an unknown date. GS

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Fig. 189
Façade of the cathedral of Sainte-Croix,
Orléans



Fig. 190
After Delaistre,
*Angel Holding the
Crown of Thorns*,
about 1790, stone.
Orléans, cathedral of
Sainte-Croix

JOHANN HEINRICH DANNECKER

Stuttgart, 1758–Stuttgart, 1841

Christ

Terracotta, with pencil markings for transfer, 37.5 × 11.3 × 8.2 cm
(14¾ × 4½ × 3¼ in.)

Signed and dated on the rear of the base: *Dannecker f: 1816*
Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie (P 510)

PROVENANCE

Artist's estate; acquired 1886 by the Königliches Museum der bildenden Künste from the heirs of his widow, Friederike Dannecker, née Kolb

EXHIBITION

Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 1, no. 141a, ill.

REFERENCES

Anonymous 1817; Rapp 1818, p. 50; Klingemann 1819, pp. 186–87; Donndorf 1886, p. 757; Fabriczy 1886, col. 622; Königliches Museum, Stuttgart 1897, p. 95, no. 6; Spemann 1909, pp. 123–24, 134, App., p. 185, no. 93; Baudissin 1931, p. 243, no. 60; see also citations in Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 1, pp. 364, 366, 412

Dannecker's third masterpiece, following the Schiller bust (dated 1805; marble in Weimar, Zentralbibliothek der deutschen Klassik; see Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 1, no. 69, ill.) and the *Ariadne on a Panther* (fig. 115), is the gently swaying but nonetheless spectacular *Christ* of which he made two colossal marbles: that in the Hermitage, commissioned in 1818 by Dowager Empress Maria Feodorovna

for a chapel in the park at Tsarskoye Selo (fig. 191), and that commissioned in 1827 by Prince Carl Maximilian von Thurn und Taxis for the family chapel at Neresheim and now in the chapel of St. Emmeram in the family castle at Regensburg (Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 1, no. 170b, ill.). Several factors besides the date inscribed on it indicate that this model preceded the Hermitage marble. Some of the distinctions are better judged in the full-size models for the heads of the two marble statues: one of terracotta and plaster in the Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, preceded the Hermitage marble (Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 1, no. 141b, ill.), while a painted plaster in the Evangelical Hospital Church, Stuttgart, preceded the Regensburg marble. The latter is a fragment of the full-scale model that Dannecker had presented to the church in gratitude for the religious instruction he had received there (Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 1, no. 170a, ill.). The features of the first model are subtly fleshed out in the second, but the essential difference is in the hair, which is finer and more detailed in the first and broader in the second. In particular, the earlocks fall in front of the ears in the first head and are pushed behind the ears in the second head and in both marbles. The earlier coiffure is studied closely from traditional Jewish practice. The Orthodox earlocks are just one indication of Dannecker's research into the character of Christ and his period that brings the sculptor close to the world of the Nazarene painters, whose pre-Raphael preferences increasingly dominated German art. Thus Peter Cornelius gives his very blond Christ distinctly defined earlocks in his canvas of 1813 *The Wise and Foolish Virgins* (Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum; Andrews 1964, pl. 21). In the *Christ*'s overall form are also found the



Fig. 191
Dannecker, *Christ*,
1821–24, marble.
Saint Petersburg, State
Hermitage Museum



Fig. 192
Dannecker, *Head of Christ*,
probably 1815, ink over graphite.
Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie



Fig. 193
Dannecker, *Two Studies of Christ*,
probably 1815, ink over graphite.
Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie



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Fig. 194
Leybold,
Dannecker, 1822,
oil on canvas.
Stuttgart, Staatgalerie

earnest purity of outline and miraculous floating quality that Friedrich Overbeck and the Nazarenes prized in Fra Angelico. It would be going too far to call Dannecker a Nazarene sculptor, but he was clearly not untouched by their concerns, and the Nazarenes would regard him as a father figure (his name appears beside that of the architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel in a family tree of the Nazarenes and their heroes, engraved by Ferdinand Olivier in 1823 [Schindler 1982, pl. 57]).

On August 12, 1815, the sculptor wrote Georg Scharffenstein, an old school friend, a letter that demonstrates his obsession with the subject: "What do you say to this? If I make a Christ? I started studying the head with drawings of the profile and have just finished the twenty-third; the last is by far the best. The ideal has to be studied, it doesn't come pouring out, it must already bear Christ's portrait, where do I find it? So far I have managed it so that the last [drawing] will be recognized as the Christ by old and by young, by the stupid and by the clever. But that isn't all, he has to chase the buyers and sellers from the temple as well as call the little children unto him. I wish to represent Christ as he calls out to mankind: 'Follow me.'" (Spemann 1909, App., p. 50, no. 103). Six drawn heads survive to show how he strove to express objective and spiritual truths at once, coiffure and all (see Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 2, nos. 2161–67, ill.): that with the most delicate beard (fig. 192), was carried over into the terracotta and the first marble. The gaze's hallucinatory fixation could even recall the more perceptively visionary heads that William Blake drew about this date (e.g., *Solomon*, dated about 1819–20 by Butlin 1981, p. 509, no. 701, pl. 916).

Although the two artists would not have known each other, an intermediary could have been the opus of the lionized pseudo-scientist Johann Caspar Lavater, *Physiognomische Fragmente*, published in 1775–78 and in English in 1789–98 with several plates by Blake and Henry Fuseli. Dannecker never met the sage of Zurich, who died in 1801, but he made an impressive posthu-

mous bust of him, and *Physiognomische Fragmente* would have been required reading when he went to Zurich in 1802 to study the subject and his background (for the marble bust of 1805 in the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich, see Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 1, no. 92c, ill.). Lines from Lavater evidently reverberated when the sculptor began visualizing Jesus. Opposite a plate with six profiles of Christ, Lavater effuses: "In general, no one of these heads is worthy of being deemed an ideal representation of Jesus Christ. Ah! if Antiquity had transmitted to us an exact profile of the divine Jesus, how dear would that image be to my heart! . . . I should trace in them the whole character of his Gospel and this proof would speak more home to my mind than the most faithful versions, nay more than the original manuscripts themselves" (Lavater 1789–98, vol. 2, p. 212, and pl. opposite; see also Wolf and Traska 1999).

Small atmospheric drawings of the full figure survive, in which the floating or dancing quality of the marble *Christ* is already implied (fig. 193; Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 2, no. 2164 verso, ill.). Another sketch, on the theme of "suffer the little children to come unto me" (no. 2169, ill.), underscores the simultaneous nature of Dannecker's studies, noted in the letter to Scharffenstein.

In the terracotta that followed very shortly upon the drawings, all is streamlined and perfected. Dannecker has determined upon the movements of the arms; one hand is directed across his breast and the missing fingers of the other are directed heavenward. The meaning of the gestures is stated in the inscription on the Hermitage marble's base: *PER ME AD PATREM* (rendered in German Gothic letters on the Thurn und Taxis base), "through me to the Father," as in John 14:6: "I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me." The sculpture grandly mimes the text with its body language, indicating the Father with the skyward gesture and "by me" with the hand toward heart. Holst showed that the Biedermeier painter Karl Leybold ludicrously paraphrased the same sign language in a portrait of the aged sculptor, one hand at chest and the other caressing a model of the Christ (not the present one, because that in the painting is gray with pushed-back earlocks), as if to say that through him lies the way to art (fig. 194; Holst in Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 1, p. 368; see also Stuttgart 2001–2, fig. 47).

It may be relevant to recall that Christ addresses his words in John 14:6 to the doubting Thomas. Dannecker would have found the draperies in the Orsanmichele's famous bronze group of *Christ and Saint Thomas* by Verrocchio hopelessly cluttered, but the basic gestures of Verrocchio's *Christ* seem mirrored in Dannecker's (see Florence and New York 1992–93, p. 29). Dannecker also turned to John's gospel when he envisioned the lines of the rough but flowing garment, the robe "without seam," configured with palpable reverence in the model (John 19:23). No other attributes are included, just as in his

marble *John the Evangelist* of 1823–28, his only other biblical statue, which stands with the three other evangelists by Bertel Thorvaldsen and his collaborators in the chapel crowning the Rotenberg outside Stuttgart, which King Wilhelm I erected to honor his late consort, Ekaterina Pavlovna. The Thorvaldsen saints have their identifying attributes, while Saint John is defined only by his youthful ardor and air of inspiration (see Stuttgart 1987b, vol. 1, pp. 403–6, ill.). Dannecker must have avoided anecdote chiefly because it interfered with his vision of the transcendent nature of Christ's love. Later generations proved resistant to the simplistic Protestant piety that permeates his *Christ*, but new viewers may find a haunting power in the work's formal expression, the efforts toward which are as so often best appreciated in the model.

The yellowish buff clay was modeled solid, with no concavity underneath. It bears at least eight tiny penciled plus signs, evidence that it was employed to transfer the proportions using the pointing technique at some early stage before Dannecker altered the design for the first marble.

JDD

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ANTONIO CANOVA

Possagno, 1757–Venice, 1822

The Virgin Mary

Terracotta, 48 × 15 × 18 cm (18 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Possagno, Gipsoteca Canoviana (287)

PROVENANCE

Atelier of the artist, Rome; installed in the gallery built in 1834–36 adjacent to his ancestral home in Possagno; presented to the Comune di Possagno by his half brother, Giovanni Battista Sartori Canova, 1853

EXHIBITION

Rome 1951–52, no. 6

REFERENCES

Lavagnino 1954, p. 25, pls. 7, 9 (as a suppliant, related to a projected tomb for Titian); Bassi 1957, p. 258, no. 289, ill.; Bassi 1959, p. 228, under no. F.3.28.1536; Bassi 1972, p. 111, no. 287, ill. p. 110; Pavanello 1976, p. 133, no. 348, ill.; Licht 1983, pp. 230–31, ill.; Barbieri 1990, pp. 82–83, ill.; Mellini 1999, p. 213, ill.; Stefani 1999, p. 299

In his later years Antonio Canova's fecund imagination was increasingly fired by religious themes. A project for a Madonna was known to his friend Quatremère de Quincy, who wrote him on July 12, 1817: "So make yourself a Madonna in marble; this subject is truly absent from modern sculpture and from your glory" (Pavanello 1976, p. 133).



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Confirmation of this preoccupation, however intermittent, occurs among the drawings. In one the Virgin offers the infant Child to a worshiper (Bassi 1959, p. 230, no. F.3.40.1548). In another (fig. 195) she stands alone, elevated on a low plinth, while a kneeling woman directs a little girl's gaze toward her (Bassi 1959, p. 228, no. F.3.28.1536). The gesture of the Virgin's right hand is not easily interpreted, but the left presses mildly to her breast, and the closed pose is so like that of the present maquette as to lead us to suppose the two are virtually contemporaneous. In the second drawing, the robe of the Queen of Heaven is spangled with stars. Otherwise, as in the statuette, there are no attributes to identify the subject apart from the lowered head and the hands at the breast, yet the figure unquestionably represents the Virgin Mary. Johann Heinrich Dannecker comes to mind, and especially his desire that his *Christ* be recognized by old and young alike through the purely expressive means at the sculptor's command (cat. no. 138).

Also close to the statuette is the Virgin in an Annunciation for one of the metopes that Canova was producing about 1820–22 to adorn his own funerary chapel, the Tempio Canoviano, at Possagno (fig. 196; Pavanello 1976, p. 134, no. 366). Her youth, her downcast gaze, and her gesture are all inflections from the Annunciate Virgin, traditionally shown, much as in the Gospel of Luke, humbly accepting her momentous responsibility as the Mother of God. For this reason, the terracotta is sometimes identified as an *Annunziata*. Yet in the second drawing she appears as an independent icon without the Angel Gabriel. The model is also sometimes styled an *Immacolata*. Borrowings from the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, often more simply called by Italians *la Madonna purissima*, may in fact be present, but Canova seems bent on making the figure all-embracing rather than an expression of an iconographic program. He may

also have wanted to give her the immediate effect of an apparition. With his vast powers of pictorial recall, it is not impossible that he remembered seeing in his youth a sixteenth-century miracle painting by Moretto da Brescia at Paitone, in the mountains above Brescia, *The Apparition of the Madonna to the Deaf-Mute Filippo Viotti*, in which the lad gazes upon her columnar form (fig. 197; see Begni Redona 1988, pp. 266–69, no. 52, ill.). Canova's interest in Moretto is proven by his ownership of the *Madonna della Misericordia*, now in the Rotonda Canoviana (Begni Redona 1988, pp. 126–29, no. 17, ill.; a conversation with Andrea Bayer opened this line of inquiry).

Experimental painterly considerations motivated the sculptor throughout his late work. In the *Annunciation* near this date (fig. 196), the figures' marked linearity may derive from trecento painting, but this leanness of line was also increasingly a matter of predilection. The long contours and unexaggerated contrapposto of the present model, an exceptionally large one for the master, are even more rigorously streamlined than those of the relief or the drawn sketch. The terracotta, while affectingly tender, actually shows Canova at his most reductively formulaic. In this heartfelt minimalism there is no reference to the antique, unless we acknowledge his general consciousness of placing Praxitelean grace in the service of religion. The Virgin's veil, irregularly ribbed, cloaks the entire back of the statuette with breathtaking simplicity.

The clay, blond with grayish overtones, was wedged summarily, resulting in a granular texture throughout.

JDD



Fig. 195
Canova, *Worshiper before a Statue of the Virgin*,
about 1820, black chalk. Bassano del Grappa,
Museo Civico



Fig. 196
Canova, *The Annunciation*,
about 1820–22, plaster. Possagno,
Tempio Canoviano



Fig. 197
Moretto da Brescia, *The Apparition of the
Madonna to the Deaf-Mute Filippo Viotti*,
about 1534, oil on canvas. Paitone, Sanctuary

CAMILLO PACETTI

Rome, 1758–Milan, 1826

Saint John the Evangelist

Terracotta, 32 × 15 × 8.5 cm (12 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Milan, Galleria d'Arte Moderna (Civiche Raccolte d'Arte Moderna; 307/20)

PROVENANCE

By descent in the Pacetti and Cacciatori families, Milan (Pacetti's daughter having married the sculptor Benedetto Cacciatori [1794–1871]); gift of the sisters Felicità and Gaetanina Cacciatori to the Accademia di Belle Arti di Brera; deposited by the Pinacoteca di Brera at the Civica Raccolta d'Arte Moderna in 1902

REFERENCES

Nicodemi and Bezzola 1938, p. 183, no. 580, p. 185, ill.; Hubert 1964, p. 243; Caramel and Pirovano 1975, vol. 3, p. 654, no. 1943, ill.; Mazzocca, Morandotti, and Colle 2001, p. 524, fig. 52

In 1805, through Antonio Canova's influence, Camillo Pacetti was awarded the chair in sculpture at the Brera Academy in Milan, and thereafter he faithfully promoted Canovan style, most notably on the façade of Milan's great Gothic cathedral. Despite his ongoing conflicts with the papacy, Napoleon turned a benign eye to the cathedral and its works, being crowned there as king of Italy (also in 1805). The period saw increasingly frenzied activity to complete the figural ornamentation of the façade which, literally bristling with statues, serves as a sort of outdoor museum for the history of Milanese sculpture, and which would culminate with Pacetti's and his peers' Neoclassical statues, well over lifesize, of the Apostles and Evangelists. Pacetti's share included a *Saint James the Less* and the youthful exalted *Saint John the Evangelist* (fig. 198), both said to have been carved after his models by Giuseppe Buzzi in 1810 (Nebbia 1908, p. 275). Pacetti's autograph notes on works executed by him up to 1810 include the *Saint John*, but judging from his language ("per collocarsi" [to be installed]), the marble was not yet on the façade then (Samek Ludovici 1959, p. 603).

The marble *Saint John* holds a scroll in his left hand (barely indicated in the bozzetto). His right, rhetorically raised to indicate that his inspiration comes from above, commands attention. Following ancient tradition, the saint is represented as the youngest and most ardent of Christ's disciples. The massive drapings, seeming both Roman and Romanesque, rest lightly on an agile frame. They are naturally more painstakingly articulated in the marble than in the clay, where rapid hollows serve to indicate folds.

Pacetti shows himself a prescient connoisseur of medieval art: there are clear correspondences between this pose and that of an Ottonian ivory now in the Louvre (fig. 199; Paris 1991, p. 150).



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Fig. 198
Pacetti, *Saint John the Evangelist*,
1810, Candoglia marble,
carved by Giuseppe Buzzi after
Pacetti's model, larger than lifesize.
Milan Cathedral



Fig. 199
Italian or German
(from Milan or Magdeburg),
Saint John the Evangelist,
10th century, ivory.
Paris, Musée du Louvre

The cathedral composition was feebly imitated with less elongation by Pacetti's son-in-law Benedetto Cacciatori in the parish church at Gorgonzola in 1820 (Maderna 1979, fig. 5). The sculptures there by Cacciatori and his team suggest a complication in the attribution of models in the Civica Raccolta d'Arte Moderna: at least two reliefs ascribed to Pacetti among the latter (*Good Samaritan* and *Prodigal Son*; Caramel and Pirovano 1975, vol. 3, p. 654, nos. 1949, 1951, ill.) were repeated verbatim at Gorgonzola (Maderna 1979, figs. 10, 12). Cacciatori in any case adapted Pacetti's modeling style very closely. It is conceivable that some of the models were incorrectly assigned when the trove entered the Milanese collections in 1902. The attribution of the present work to Pacetti is unquestionable, not only because of the cathedral sculpture but also because of the subject's rapt conviction.

The clay, an orangy buff with several blackened patches that occurred in firing, has light quartz intrusions.

JDD

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ATTRIBUTED TO CAMILLO PACETTI

Rome, 1758–Milan, 1826

Lamentation over the Dead Christ

Terracotta, 30 × 39.2 × 19.4 cm (11 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (56.305)

PROVENANCE

Purchased in Munich with the H. E. Bolles Fund, 1956

EXHIBITION

Providence 1957, no. 3

REFERENCES

Praz 1957, p. 27, fig. 11; Hanns Swarzenski in "Accessions" 1958, pp. 98–99, ill.; Hubert 1964, p. 439 n. 4; Pavanello 1976, p. 104, no. 116, ill.

The subject is situated somewhere between a Lamentation, with Mary Magdalen kneeling by the dead Christ, and a Deposition. In this dolorous ceremony the participants envelop the corpse in a winding-sheet without touching the sacred flesh. Very little is articulated. The Magdalen at center is especially reedlike. Facial features are minimal, but this serves well the overall effect of numb grief, as does the massive overall formation within which the movements are nevertheless extremely delicately calibrated.

The work was introduced by Mario Praz as by Antonio Canova. It lacks Canova's vitalizing touch (which may have led Gérard Hubert to call it "a curious sketch"), but

its subdued grace is of a sort often met in terracottas by the master's admirers in Milan. The loose wet modeling is that of Camillo Pacetti (see cat. no. 140) or one of his followers, chiefly Pompeo Marchesi (1783–1858) and Benedetto Cacciatori (1794–1871). Good comparisons with Pacetti are in his languid models, *Ganymede* and *Apollo Supporting the Dying Hyacinth*, both with similarly sluggish drapery, in the Civica Raccolta d'Arte Moderna, Milan (Caramel and Pirovano 1975, vol. 3, p. 653, nos. 1925, 1936, ill.), while the lanternlike heads of Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus have counterparts in Pacetti's *Saint Mark* and his *Prodigal Son* relief (Caramel and Pirovano 1975, pp. 653, 654, nos. 1927, 1951, ill.). However, as we have suggested (see again cat. no. 140), the last may well be by Cacciatori, who as Pacetti's son-in-law inherited his models (there may have been a mixup when these entered the Civica Raccolta). In any case, Pacetti's drapery style is generally more inspired than in the last two works cited. Marchesi's sketches were bequeathed to the Civica Raccolta in 1860–61. Like some

of Pacetti's, they often have blank ovoid female faces similar to that of the *Lamentation's* Magdalen, but in general Marchesi sketched more nervously. On balance, the late Pacetti, working about 1820 (he stopped sculpting in 1822), may prove to be the best candidate.

As if contradicting the composition's solemnity, the buff clay was worked briskly, rough channels of grooves serving to accentuate various rhythms (characteristic of Pacetti from the time of the *Orpheus and Eurydice* [cat. no. 95]). The back is especially lively, showing the rapid piling on of clay pellets. The piece is solid, with no excavations beneath—it is a wonder that a work of its mass did not explode in firing. There are numerous kiln cracks and later damage that led to the underside being consolidated with plaster. Numerous plaster inclusions and repairs include the front left corner. In keeping with occasional Baroque practice, the modeler himself probably executed certain of the plaster fills, such as the Magdalen's forehead, which was dabbed with plaster after firing. JDD



IVAN PETROVICH MARTOS

Ichnya, Ukraine, 1754–Saint Petersburg, 1835

Saint Mark

Terracotta, 36 × 23 × 27 cm (14¼ × 9½ × 10⅝ in.)
Saint Petersburg, State Russian Museum (1269)

PROVENANCE

V. I. Grigorovich, Saint Petersburg; I. I. Spitz until 1871; Museum of the Academy of Arts, Saint Petersburg, until 1925

EXHIBITIONS

Saint Petersburg 1833; Leningrad 1935 (unnumbered); Leningrad 1986, no. 11, ill.; Saint Petersburg 1995, no. 10

REFERENCES

Kovalenskaia 1938, p. 111; State Russian Museum, Leningrad 1988, p. 100, no. 727, ill.

This statuette is from a late series that Ivan Petrovich Martos undertook in 1831 for the interior of the church of the Imperial Academy of Arts in Saint Petersburg. The sculptor, more than seventy-five years old, made terracotta models of the four Evangelists (fig. 200; all Saint Petersburg, State Russian Museum) as well as five terracotta reliefs (the only one to survive is *Christ Giving the Keys to Saint Peter* [Saint Petersburg, State Russian Museum]). According to an account of the artist's last years, Czar Nicholas I rejected Martos's studies, after having decided to give the church project to younger sculptors. Stylistically the Evangelists show Martos's characteristic manner, which remained close to the Neo-classical principles of his youth. Careful compositions and meticulous execution underlie an imposing sense of solemnity and emotional restraint. Most of the terracottas by this artist have not survived, but a number of them are known through engravings prepared after his death in a commemorative edition (see cat. no. 121). Among these engravings is one by K. I. Afanasiev of the present work (Leningrad 1986, p. 42, ill.).

EK



Fig. 200
Martos, *Saint Luke*, 1831, terracotta.
Saint Petersburg, State Russian Museum



Artists' Biographies

Étienne D'ANTOINE

Carpentras, 1737–Marseille, 1809

Étienne d'Antoine was employed in Marseille first as a carver of wood forms for cobblers, then as a modeler of ceramic pots and vases. Later, while studying at the Académie de Marseille, he worked with his teacher Jean-Michel Verduquier on the façade of the church of Saint-Ferréol. In 1766 d'Antoine went to Rome, winning a prize in the Capitoline competition two years later. There he also carved the bust of the French ambassador, Cardinal de Bernis (lost). Upon his return to Carpentras, d'Antoine decorated the tomb of Joseph Dominique d'Inguibert, bishop of Carpentras, in the chapel choir of the Hôtel-Dieu (1774), with figures of Faith and Charity flanking the bust of the deceased. His monumental marble group *The Three Graces* (completed 1776, erected 1797), in which the figures hold hands to form a circle, surmounts the fountain in the place de la Comédie, Montpellier. By 1786 d'Antoine was a member of the Académie de Marseille. His smaller works include the *Mourner* (cat. no. 119) and *Pluto* (1774, marble; Toulouse, Musée des Augustins).

Thomas BANKS

London, 1735–London, 1805

After studying in London with the ornament carver William Barlow, Thomas Banks attended Saint Martin's Lane Academy. In 1770 he won the Royal Academy's first traveling stipend, using it two years later to go to Rome, where, despite finding little patronage, he remained until 1779, relying on his own financial resources when the stipend expired. The celebrated works from his Roman period, the *Death of Germanicus* (1774; Norfolk, Holkham Hall) and *Thetis and Her Nymphs Rising from the Sea to Console Achilles for the Loss of Patroclus* (1778, marble relief; London, Victoria and Albert Museum), reveal an outstanding grasp of classical art and the nude.

Upon his return to London in 1779 Banks found that Joseph Nollekens and John Bacon were receiving the great majority of the important commissions. He consequently went to Saint Petersburg in 1781 to work for Catherine the Great but returned to London soon after. His *Thetis Dipping the Infant Achilles in the River Styx* (1789, marble group; London, Victoria and Albert Museum) shows undiminished lapidary skill and understanding of the antique. Through monuments such as *Sir Eyre Coote* (1784–89; London, Westminster Abbey) Banks reinvented himself as a sculptor of church memorials. Thanks to the dramatic *Falling Titan* (1786; London, Royal Academy), he was elected a member of the Royal Academy. His monuments *Captain Richard Burgess* (1802) and *Captain Westcott* (1802–5; both London, Saint Paul's Cathedral) masterfully combined portraiture with allegory and were praised for their poetic intensity. The emotion-filled tomb of Penelope Boothby (1793; Derbyshire, Ashbourne Church), on which the deceased is posed as if asleep, set the

standard for nineteenth-century funerary sculpture of children.

Pierre-Nicolas BEAUVALLÉ

Le Havre, 1750–Paris, 1818

Born in Le Havre, Pierre-Nicolas Beauvallet moved to Paris in 1765 to join the workshop of Augustin Pajou. In the early 1770s he spent a short period of study in Rome. His early works were architectural decorations for the Hôtel Thélusson, Paris (1780–81), and reliefs depicting the Battles of Alexander in the Salle des Gardes in the château of Compiègne (1784–85). In 1789 Beauvallet was accepted by the Académie Royale, but the Académie was suppressed before he could be received as a full member. During the French Revolution he flaunted his Republican views, honoring figures such as Jean-Paul Marat and Joseph Chalier in plaster busts (1793–94; both destroyed). His political stance led in 1794 to a brief imprisonment, during which he focused on drawing.

Once out of prison, Beauvallet kept a lower profile and worked at restoring medieval and Renaissance sculptures for the Musée des Monuments Français under Alexandre Lenoir. By 1805 he was once again receiving commissions, including the state-sponsored Colonne de la Grande Armée in the place Vendôme (1806–10, bronze). His crowning work, *Susanna in the Bath* (1813, marble; Paris, Musée du Louvre), reveals the strong influence of Antonio Canova. Beauvallet's talent as a draftsman is evident in a series of engraved plates entitled *Fragments d'architecture, sculpture, peinture dans le style antique* . . . (1804), dedicated to Jacques-Louis David. He died suddenly while working on a statue of General Victor Moreau.

Louis-Simon BOIZOT

Paris, 1743–Paris, 1809

The son of Antoine Boizot, a designer at Gobelins, Louis-Simon began his artistic training with the sculptor René-Michel Slodtz in Paris. He won the Prix de Rome in 1762 but continued studying at the École des Élèves Protégés for three years before departing for the Académie de France in Rome. Eight years after his return to Paris in 1770, he was received into the Académie Royale with his *Meleager* (1771–78, marble; Paris, Musée du Louvre).

A characteristic official commission was *Jean Racine*, a marble statue for the Louvre's Great Men of France series (1785–87; Palais de l'Institut). By 1785 he was a professor at the Académie Royale. He was one of several artists to work on the bronze reliefs celebrating Napoleon's victories for the Colonne de la Grande Armée (1806–7; Paris, place Vendôme).

Director of the sculpture studio at Sèvres from 1773 to 1800, Boizot is best known for his small-scale sculptures and decorative works, many of which were executed in biscuit porcelain. His fluid handling of such models was inevitably influenced by his predecessor at Sèvres, Étienne-Maurice Falconet, but his own Neo-

classical approach, simple yet never unduly spare, also emerges distinctly.

Edme BOUCHARDON

Chaumont (Haute-Marne), 1698–Paris, 1762

Edme Bouchardon began training with his father, Jean-Baptiste, in his native town. Together they decorated a portal of the church of Saint-Étienne in Dijon with the relief *The Martyrdom of Saint Stephen* (1719–20, limestone; now Dijon, Saint-Bénigne). In 1721 Edme went to Paris and worked with Guillaume Coustou the Elder before winning the Prix de Rome one year later. In Rome, his impeccable red-chalk drawings after the antique and old masters established his reputation as a draftsman; the vast majority of his drawings are today in the Louvre. To the Roman years also belongs the idealized bust of Baron von Stosch (1727; Berlin, Skulpturgalerie).

In 1733 Bouchardon returned to Paris and worked on several large-scale sculptures for the church of Saint-Sulpice, including *Christ at the Column* (about 1735, limestone). In 1736 he was appointed draftsman of the Académie des Belles-Lettres et Inscriptions, becoming responsible for the design of medals. His bust of Cardinal Melchior de Polignac dates to 1737 (marble; Meaux, Musée Bossuet). Bouchardon's famous fountain in the rue de Grenelle, Paris (1739–45), is adorned with graceful figures that symbolize Paris, the Seine and Marne rivers, and the Four Seasons. With his marble the *Crucified Christ* (Paris, Musée du Louvre), he was admitted into the Académie Royale in 1745; a year later he was named one of its professors. His *Cupid Carving His Bow from the Club of Hercules* (1740–50, marble; Paris, Musée du Louvre), an important royal commission, was criticized for being a mythological figure obviously based on a live model. Nonetheless, Bouchardon was chosen to execute the massive bronze equestrian statue of Louis XV (begun 1748, destroyed 1792) for the place Louis XV (now place de la Concorde), one of the most noteworthy royal projects of the period. An esteemed teacher, Bouchardon counted among his followers Jean-Baptiste Pigalle, Louis-Claude Vassé, and Peter Anton Verschaffelt.

Luc François BRETON

Besançon, 1731–Besançon, 1800

Luc François Breton first studied with a master sculptor in wood and then, after 1749, with Claude-François Attiret in Dôle. In 1754 he traveled to Italy, participating from that date in the Concorso Clementino of the Accademia di San Luca. He won first prize four years later (cat. no. 33). In 1760, following the design of Robert Adam, he sculpted a terracotta relief for the tomb of Lieutenant Colonel Roger Townshend (translated into marble a year later by John Eckstein; Westminster Abbey). In 1762 he gained permission to have a room and the opportunity to study at the Académie de France in Rome. Returning to Besançon briefly in 1765, via Florence and Genoa, he received the

commission for two angels on the high altar of Saint-Maurice (marble, shipped from Rome in 1768), then went back to Rome where he lived until 1771. In 1773, with the painter Wyrsh, he founded the École Gratuite de Peinture et Sculpture of Besançon. Very attached to his native city, he produced portraits of members of the aristocracy and local notables as well as ambitious designs for funerary monuments (see cat. no. 116) and a monumental Pietà (see cat. no. 135). He remained active during the Revolution, in 1795 proposing statues of Liberty and the Law (terracottas in the museum at Besançon). He had never presented himself to the Académie Royale in Paris but was admitted to the Institut as an associate member in 1795. At his death the works remaining in his atelier—primarily studies in terracotta—were acquired by the city of Besançon and are now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in that city.

Antonio CANOVA

Possagno, 1757–Venice, 1822

Antonio Canova was the son and grandson of sculptors. An apprenticeship in 1770/71 with Giuseppe Bernardi in Pagnano and a brief period of study in the Venetian studio of Giovanni Ferrari were followed by training in the Accademia delle Belle Arti in Venice. His first major work, *Daedalus and Icarus* (1778–79, marble; Venice, Museo Correr) is an extension of Late Baroque style with only hints of Neoclassicism.

Canova was nominated to the Accademia in 1779, the same year in which he left for Rome to study the city's treasures. His interest in antique sculpture, initially sparked in Venice by the plaster casts in Filippo Farsetti's collection, ultimately led to his appointment in 1802 as inspector general of antiquities and the fine arts of the Papal States. With the widely acclaimed tomb of Pope Clement XIV (1783–87, marble; Rome, SS. Apostoli), he established himself as the leading Neoclassical sculptor in Europe. The more complex tombs of Pope Clement XIII (1783–92; Vatican City, Saint Peter's Basilica) and Maria Christina of Austria (1798–1805; Vienna, Augustinerkirche) consolidated his fame.

Today Canova is best known for graceful mythological compositions such as the spiraling *Cupid and Psyche* (1783–93, marble; Paris, Musée du Louvre; see cat. no. 9). *Perseus with the Head of Medusa* (1797–1801, marble; Vatican City, Musei Vaticani) is one of his several heroic figures. The *Three Graces* (1812–16; Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum; see cat. no. 45) well illustrates his triumphant ability to translate sensuous flesh into marble.

As a favorite of Napoleon, Canova made several portraits of the emperor and his family members, including *Napoleon as Mars the Pacifier* (1803–6, marble; London, Apsley House), *Letizia Ramolino Bonaparte (Madame Mère)* (1804–7, marble; Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection; see cat. no. 47), and *Paolina Borghese as Venus Victorious* (1804–8, marble; Rome, Galleria Borghese). In 1815, after Napoleon's fall from power, the sculptor served as ambassador for the Papal States in Paris, with the mission of recovering artworks taken from Italy during the Napoleonic wars. A year later, Pope Pius VII named him marchese d'Ischia.

The Tempio Canoviano in Possagno, the town church designed by Canova as his own memorial, contains reliefs on religious themes. Almost all of the artist's drawings are in the Museo Civico, Bassano del

Grappa, and the majority of his paintings, plaster models, and terracotta bozzetti are in the Gipsoteca Canoviana, Possagno.

Bartolomeo CAVACEPPI

Rome, 1716–Rome, 1799

An apprentice in the Roman studio of Pierre-Étienne Monnot from about 1729 to 1733, Bartolomeo Cavaceppi also studied at the Accademia di San Luca in the early 1730s. He gained notice as a restorer of antique marbles, many of which he had engraved in a three-volume publication, *Raccolta d'antiche statue, busti, bassirilievi ed altre sculture restaurate* (Rome, 1768–72).

In 1734 Cavaceppi's career was launched when Cardinal Alessandro Albani employed him and Carlo Antonio Napolioni to renovate antique sculptures in his collection. Until 1758 he also worked alongside Clemente Bianchi as principal restorer of the Museo Capitolino in Rome. There, in 1744, he completed his most famous project, the restoration of the second-century *Faun* in rosso antico marble (Rome, Museo Capitolino). By mid-century Cavaceppi was an independent dealer whose offerings attracted major collectors and artists, including Thomas Jenkins and Gavin Hamilton. While his approach to restoration was cautious in his writings, in practice he exercised much license in repairing fragmented sculptures and concocted pastiches as well as outright forgeries.

Cavaceppi's few original works are less well known than his numerous terracotta models after the antique, such as the *Hercules Farnese* and the *Bust of Marcus Aurelius* (both Rome, Museo di Palazzo Venezia). At his death his studio inventory included thousands of ancient marbles and old master drawings. Although he had bequeathed his collections to the Accademia di San Luca, the works were widely scattered because of lawsuits.

Joseph CHINARD

Lyon, 1756–Lyon, 1813

Admitted to Lyon's Ecole Royale de Dessin in 1770, Joseph Chinard began his studies under the painter Donat Nonotte before entering the workshop of the sculptor Barthélemy Blaise. In 1784 he left for Rome, where two years later he was awarded first prize by the Accademia di San Luca for his terracotta *Perseus Delivering Andromeda* (cat. no. 35). In Rome he also produced numerous reduced copies after the antique. Once again in Lyon in 1787, he completed a marble *Virgin* for Belley Cathedral. In 1792 Chinard was arrested in Rome for sculpting candelabra, such as *Reason in the Guise of Apollo Crushing Superstition* (terracotta; Paris, Musée Carnavalet), that expressed Republican sentiments considered offensive by the papal authorities. Imprisoned in Castel Sant'Angelo for two months, he returned to Lyon only to be rearrested in 1793 for producing works that were politically too moderate. In 1800 the city of Clermont-Ferrand commissioned a monument, the *Death of General Desaix* (marble; Clermont-Ferrand, Musée des Beaux-Arts), but this dramatic composition of a fallen hero remained unfinished.

Primarily known today as a portraitist, Chinard executed busts of several prominent contemporary figures, including his most famous, the subtly erotic *Madame Récamier* (1801, marble; Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts), as well as many profile medallions. While strongly

influenced by Canova, his style could be less rigorously Neoclassical, as in a commemorative bust of his wife, *Madame Chinard* (1802, marble; Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts). He later spent four years in Carrara, beginning in 1804, working as a portraitist for Napoleon's sister Elisa Baciocchi, who directed the quarries there. By 1808 he was back in Lyon, teaching at the École Impériale de Dessin and frequently exhibiting terracotta busts and mythological compositions at the Paris Salons. His death from an aneurysm in 1813 deprived French sculpture of one of its most original voices.

Claude Michel, called CLODION

Nancy, 1738–Paris, 1814

In 1755 Clodion left Nancy in Paris to train with his uncle the sculptor Lambert-Sigisbert Adam. After Adam's death in 1759, the guidance of Jean-Baptiste Pigalle helped him obtain the Prix de Rome that same year. He spent the next three years preparing in the École des Élèves Protégés before departing for Rome, where he studied at the Académie de France and shared a studio with Jean-Antoine Houdon. From 1765 on, Clodion's terracotta statuettes and vases sold successfully as collectors' items. His absorption of the Baroque, and especially of Bernini, is evident in works such as the *River Rhine* (1765, terracotta; London, Victoria and Albert Museum), while his adherence to antique standards marks such works as the *Minerva* (cat. no. 43).

Two years after his return to Paris in 1771, Clodion was admitted into the Académie Royale. He became keeper of the king's statues in 1777 and professor at the Académie in 1781. Larger projects resulted: a statue of Saint Cecilia and a relief entitled the *Death of Saint Cecilia* for Rouen Cathedral (both 1777) as well as stucco reliefs on bacchanalian themes, such as those for the Hôtel de Bourbon-Condé, Paris (about 1781; divided among the Musée du Louvre, Paris; the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nancy; and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). Clodion's most significant commission, from the Direction des Bâtiments du Roi, is the seated *Montesquieu* for the Great Men series (commissioned 1778, marble; Paris, Musée du Louvre). Fluent in his handling of allegory in an airy, Rococo style, he modeled the *Balloon Monument* (probably 1784, terracotta; New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art) in a competition for an unrealized monument for the Jardin des Tuileries.

From 1793 to 1798 Clodion distanced himself from the Revolution and stayed in Nancy. His works upon returning to Paris are somewhat graver than before, notably *The Flood*; the lifesize plaster won a prize at the 1801 Salon (for the terracotta, see cat. no. 108). He was the son-in-law of Augustin Pajou and the teacher of Joseph-Charles Marin.

Antonio CORRADINI

Venice, 1688–Naples, 1752

The Venetian-born Antonio Corradini initially learned to sculpt in the workshop of Antonio Tarsia and later came under the influence of Pietro Baratta, from whom he learned the elements of Rococo style. His first commission was for religious figures, including *Christ the Redeemer* (1709–10, Istrian stone), to decorate the tympanum of San Stae, Venice. By 1713 he had established his own workshop and three years later

was chosen as part of a team to decorate the Summer Garden of Peter the Great in Saint Petersburg. A few years later he made several sculptures for Augustus II in Dresden, including two groups depicting a centaur and Deianira that frame the entrance to the castle gardens (1719–23, marble; Dresden, Grosser Garten).

In his *Altar of the Holy Sacrament* for the cathedral in Este (1722–25), Corradini varied the texture of the marble to achieve a dramatic, mystical effect. The figure of Faith, whose face is covered by a closely conforming veil that subtly suggests her features, is one of several veiled statues that demonstrate Corradini's mastery of subtle carving. In 1730 he received the first of three commissions from Charles VI in Vienna, working with the architect Joseph Emanuel Fischer von Erlach to create figures for the *Fountain of the Marriage of Saint Joseph* (completed 1732, marble; Vienna, Hoher Markt). From 1743 until his departure for Naples in 1749, Corradini worked in Rome, where he was friendly with Piranesi and Pier Leone Ghezzi. Most notable among his last works for the Capella Sansevero, Naples, is *Modesty* (about 1750), which adorns the monument to Cecilia Caietani. Although he died before beginning work on the marble *Veiled Christ* for the same chapel, his model (cat. no. 134) served as the basis for Giuseppe Sanmartino's final version.

Johann Heinrich DANNECKER

Stuttgart, 1758–Stuttgart, 1841

Johann Heinrich Dannecker began his training with the Belgian sculptor Pierre François Lejeune and the French painter Nicolas Guibal. His *Milon of Crotona* (1777, plaster; Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie), which won a prize from the Akademie in Stuttgart, displays an early dynamic style that later developed into a more contemplative one. This stylistic transition owed much to the influence of an intellectual circle that included Schiller and Goethe. By 1780 the artist was already so highly regarded that he was appointed Stuttgart's court sculptor. He befriended the sculptor Philipp Jakob Scheffauer, and they began collaborating on commissions that included the tomb of the theologian Johann Bonhofer (1781, marble; Michaelskirche, Schwäbisch Hall). Together they studied with Augustin Pajou in Paris from 1783 to 1785, before leaving for Rome.

Dannecker spent the next four years studying the antique manner and strengthening his commitment to Neoclassicism through contact with Antonio Canova. In 1790 he and Scheffauer returned to Stuttgart, where both were named professors at the Hohe Carlsschule. Canova's influence is clear in such lyrical mythological figures as the *Reclining Sappho* (1797–1802, marble; Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie). However, as seen in Dannecker's famous *Ariadne on a Panther* (1803–14, marble; Frankfurt, Liebieghaus-Museum alter Plastik; see cat. no. 84), the artist's compositions were also extremely innovative. The bust of Friedrich Schiller (1796–1806, marble; Weimar, Zentralbibliothek), with its piercing gaze, shows why he was esteemed for his idealized portraits, which included many of the Württemberg royal family. Dannecker ventured into religious subjects after taking instruction in the Evangelical Church, and his colossal *Christ* (1821–24, marble; Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum; see cat. no. 138) combines strength with utmost delicacy. He ceased working by 1829.

Pierre-Jean DAVID D'ANGERS

Angers, 1788–Paris, 1856

The son of a wood-carver of Republican convictions, David began his training under his father's tutelage. Study in the workshop of Jacques Delusse, painter and curator of the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Angers, preceded his move to Paris in 1807. The guidance of Philippe-Laurent Roland, beginning in 1809, influenced his style throughout his career. David in turn passed on his knowledge as professor at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris starting in 1826.

During the years 1811–15, David worked in Rome, having won the Grand Prix with his *Death of Epaminondas* (1811, plaster relief; Angers, Galerie David d'Angers), a work exemplifying his early linear style. After his return to France in 1816, his first important commission was for a statue of Louis II de Bourbon, known as the Grand Condé (marble, destroyed; plaster, Angers, Galerie David d'Angers). This dramatic work exemplifies the Romanticism that is generally perceived in David's art. Numerous commissions followed, including works such as the Panthéon's marble pediment *To Great Men the Fatherland Is Grateful* (commissioned 1830) that reveal the zealous Republican ideals of David, one of the most politically engaged artists of his time. A dedication to exalted subjects was equally pronounced in several commemorative works, such as the monument to General Foy (1827, marble; Paris, Père-Lachaise Cemetery).

Although David was fascinated with the iconic value of monumental sculpture, he was also engrossed in the psychology of individuals as manifested through their physiognomy; portrait busts such as the bronze *Niccolò Paganini* (1830–33; Angers, Galerie David d'Angers) reflect this interest. Profile medallions of friends and celebrities, both French and foreign, were his specialty, and he regarded them as historical records. Often working directly from the model to create an initial wax sketch, David fashioned these works speedily, so as to stress the subject's intellectual fervor.

François-Nicolas DELAISTRE

Paris, 1746–Paris, 1832

The pupil of Félix Lecomte and Louis-Claude Vassé, François-Nicolas Delaistre received the Prix de Rome in 1772. He spent one year in the École des Élèves Protégés before entering the Académie de France in Rome. During his four years in Italy, Delaistre conceived the delicate marble *Cupid and Psyche* (later marble version, Paris, Musée du Louvre), his best-known work. Once accepted into the Académie Royale in 1785, he devoted much time to religious works such as the *Virgin and Child* for Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs, Paris (about 1787, marble destroyed). He collaborated with the architect Pierre-Adrien Pâris on statues of the Evangelists and angels for the cathedral of Sainte-Croix in Orléans (1789–90; see cat. nos. 136, 137). After the Revolution Delaistre worked on secular subjects such as the relief *Astronomy* for the Panthéon (1792–93, stone; whereabouts unknown) and portraits including *Joseph Bonaparte* (1805–8, marble; Versailles, Château) and *Empress Marie-Louise* (1813, marble; Fontainebleau, Château). Although he was commissioned for reliefs decorating the Colonne de la Grande Armée in the place Vendôme, his models were rejected and the commission later went to Boizot. He participated in the Salon until 1824 but received relatively few commissions, among

them the bust of Pierre Puget, ordered by Louis XVIII (1824, marble; Paris, Musée du Louvre). He died of cholera in 1832. A sizable group of Delaistre's terracotta models, originally collected by his friend Pâris, is in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon.

Laurent DELVAUX

Ghent, 1696–Nivelles, 1778

Laurent Delvaux trained in Antwerp with Pieter-Denis Plumier before leaving for London in 1717. His master joined him soon after, and the two collaborated with Peter Scheemakers the Younger on the commemorative monument of the John Sheffield, duke of Buckingham, (about 1721, marble; London, Westminster Abbey). In 1728 Delvaux went to Rome, where he stayed for four years, copying after sculptors such as Giambologna but mostly concentrating on antique sculpture. There he was commissioned by John Russell, duke of Bedford, to carve several works after the antique, including a bust of Caracalla and a Hermaphrodite (both marble; Bedfordshire, Woburn Abbey).

In 1733 Delvaux was appointed court sculptor in Brussels. A year later he moved to Nivelles and while there received several commissions for religious subjects, most notably the *Conversion of Saint Paul* (1736, oak; Nivelles, Collégiale Sainte-Gertrude). An able portraitist, he is perhaps best known for the funerary monument of the Van der Noot family, executed for the Carmelite church in Brussels (1746–48, marble; destroyed in 1797 except for the *Pallas*, now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam). His noble marble statues *Saint Martin* and *Saint Benoît* for the Abbey of Affligem, near Brussels, date to 1751–53. Although his work slowed after the mid-1760s, Delvaux received the important commission for a figure of Hercules to decorate the palace of Charles of Lorraine, governor-general of the Low Countries (see cat. no. 54). Pierre Plumier and Gilles-Lambert Godecharle were among the students at his workshop in Nivelles.

Jacques-Edme DUMONT

Paris, 1761–Paris, 1844

The son of Edme Dumont, Jacques-Edme followed the family profession. He was admitted into the École des Élèves Protégés at the age of sixteen, and his early works include the *Discovery of the Relics of Saints Ger vase and Protase* (1783, marble; Sées Cathedral). Dumont worked in Augustin Pajou's studio until he received the Prix de Rome in 1788, which led to study at the Académie de France in that city. Returning to Paris in 1793 and finding it greatly changed by the Revolution, he initially supported himself by making miniature terracotta models for silversmiths (see cat. no. 28). Under the Empire, Dumont received grander commissions and worked with teams of sculptors on decorative schemes for the Louvre and the column in the place Vendôme. His monumental statue of Louis IV (1801) is today in the Abbey of Saint-Denis. Both the seated statue of Colbert (1808, limestone; Paris, Palais-Bourbon; cat. no. 22) and the bust of Empress Marie-Louise (1810, marble; private collection) are austere Neoclassical, while the portrait of his mother, Marie-Françoise Berthault (Salon of 1799, plaster; Paris, Musée du Louvre), takes a more straightforward, personal approach. A statue honoring General Charles Pichegru in Lons-le-Saunier (1824, marble; destroyed 1830) was one of his last works. His son, Augustin-

Alexandre Dumont (1801–1884), continued the dynasty with distinction.

John FLAXMAN

York, 1755–London, 1826

In 1770 John Flaxman entered the Royal Academy Schools in London. Through his father, John Flaxman Senior, a well-established maker of plaster casts, he met Josiah Wedgwood and in 1775 began supplying designs for his pottery firm. In 1787 he left for Italy, settling in Rome until 1794. There he executed the *Fury of Athamas* (1790, marble; West Sussex, Petworth House), a composition indebted to his study of the antique and especially to the *Laocöon*. An accomplished draftsman with a distinctive, highly influential minimalist style, Flaxman illustrated numerous literary works, including the *Divine Comedy*, the *Iliad*, and the *Odyssey* (1792–94). Even before his return to England, he started designing the tomb of William Murray, first earl of Mansfield, in Westminster Abbey (1793–1801). In Saint Paul's Cathedral are his tombs of Admiral Howe (1803–11) and Lord Nelson (1808–18).

Flaxman's religious monuments reveal a strong idealism and piety. Notable is the monument to Thomas Yarborough and his family (1803–6; Campsall, Yorkshire, Saint Mary Magdalene) which depicts Charity; a later commemorative representation, *Harriet Susan, Viscountess Fitzharris* (1816–17, marble; Hampshire, Christchurch Priory), shows the warm affection of a mother and her three children. In 1810 Flaxman was named the first professor of sculpture at the Royal Academy in London, and in 1816 he was elected a member of Rome's Accademia di San Luca. Perhaps his crowning achievement was *Saint Michael Overcoming Satan* (1824, marble; West Sussex, Petworth House), which was intended to be viewed in the round.

Flaxman's lectures at the Royal Academy, published posthumously in 1829, constitute one of the few books on art theory and practice written by a Neoclassical artist. Many of his plaster models remain at London's University College and Soane Museum.

Gilles-Lambert GODECHARLE

Brussels, 1750–Brussels, 1835

Gilles-Lambert Godecharle trained in Brussels with Laurent Delvaux, who helped him to obtain a study allowance in 1769 from the court of Charles of Lorraine, governor-general of the Low Countries. In 1772 this support allowed him to attend the Académie Royale in Paris, where he was influenced by Jean-Baptiste Pigalle and Jean-Antoine Houdon before going to work for Jean-Pierre-Antoine Tassaert. When Tassaert was nominated court sculptor to Frederick II of Prussia in 1775, Godecharle followed him to Berlin. He left for Rome in 1778, the same year that he won first prize at the Accademia di San Luca. While there, he submitted designs for a monument in Brussels to honor Empress Maria Theresa, but the work was never completed. Returning to Brussels in 1779, he later designed reliefs with mythological subjects for the royal palace of Schoonenberg, now known as Laeken (1783; see cat. no. 63).

Godecharle's allegorical statues the *Old Testament* and *New Testament*, executed for Saint-Jacques-sur-Coudenberg (1787, stone), are austere compositions that proved highly influential in establishing the Neoclassical style in Brussels. Selected to sculpt various

busts and statues for the grounds of the château of Wespelaar, the artist created thirty-seven works; some of these were copies after the antique, and others were modeled after works by fellow Neoclassical sculptors such as Canova. Godecharle's portraits include a posthumous bust of Delvaux (1826, marble; Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts). He was professor at the Académie des Beaux-Arts in Brussels from 1814 to 1831.

Jean-Antoine HOUDON

Versailles, 1741–Paris, 1828

Jean-Antoine Houdon was enrolled in the Académie Royale in Paris by 1756. After studying with the leading sculptors of the day—Michel-Ange Slodtz, Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne, and Jean-Baptiste Pigalle—he won the Prix de Rome in 1761. Three years at the École des Élèves Protégés prepared him for study at the Académie de France in Rome. His early works, including the plaster *Écorché* (1766; Paris, Gotha, Schloss Friedenstein) which served as a study for *Saint John the Baptist* (1766–67, plaster; Rome, Galleria Borghese), reveal his attention to anatomy. Following his return to Paris in 1768, his bust of Diderot managed to express all of the subject's wit and was duly acclaimed at the Salon of 1771 (terracotta; Paris, Musée du Louvre). Houdon earned commissions from the House of Saxe-Gotha and from Catherine the Great and the Russian nobility, as well as from the French crown, including busts of Louis XVI's aunts Mme Victoire and Mme Adélaïde (1777, marble; London, Wallace Collection, and Paris, Musée du Louvre). By the time he was admitted into the Académie with his *Morpheus* (1777, marble; Paris, Musée du Louvre), he already commanded a thriving studio.

Houdon was best known for his vivid portraits of contemporary luminaries, especially the philosophes, who were interpreted in several versions and whose images became canonical icons of the sitters. Yet his most endearing busts are perhaps those of his three daughters (various collections). His statue for the Great Men series depicts the swashbuckling Admiral Tourville (commissioned 1779, marble; Versailles, Château). The *Voltaire Seated* (1781, plaster, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; marbles, Comédie-Française, Paris, and State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg) remains astonishing for its psychological penetration (see cat. no. 110). Through his affiliation with the Freemasons, Houdon met such prominent figures as Benjamin Franklin, whom he first sculpted in 1778 (busts in various French and American museums). In 1785, with Franklin and Thomas Jefferson as intermediaries, he visited the United States to sculpt a statue of George Washington (1788, marble; Richmond, Virginia, State Capitol). His *Napoleon* and *Josephine* remain the most sympathetic busts of the pair (1808, marble; Versailles, Château). The colossal bronze statue of Napoleon that he designed for the Colonne de la Grande Armée in Boulogne-sur-Mer was destroyed early in the reign of Louis XVIII.

Among the many honors Houdon received were election to the Institut (1796) and the cross of the Legion of Honor (1804). His last Salon was that in 1814, after which he was content to teach at the École des Beaux-Arts, where he had been a professor since 1805. He retired in 1823, and his last years were plagued by mental decline. Although the sale that took place soon

after his death fetched only meager prices, Houdon is today probably the most valued of all eighteenth-century French sculptors.

Pierre JULIEN

Saint-Paulien, 1731–Paris, 1804

After two apprenticeships with minor sculptors in Le Puy, Pierre Julien went to Paris in 1758 to train with Guillaume Coustou. In 1765 he won the Prix de Rome, but he continued his training for three years at the École des Élèves Protégés. During his years at the Académie de France in Rome (1768–72), he studied and copied the antique with great intensity, as seen in his reduction of a reclining figure in the Musei Capitolini, then known as *Cleopatra* (marble; Versailles, Château). After his return to Paris, Julien was at first rejected by the Académie Royale, but he was accepted in 1779 with his brilliantly conceived *Dying Gladiator* (marble; Paris, Musée du Louvre). Commissioned by the comte d'Angiviller to contribute to the Great Men series, he produced two works that are notably different in character: *La Fontaine* (1783–85, marble; Paris, Musée du Louvre) shows a frozen energy and a richly detailed Louis XIV costume and cloak, while *Nicolas Poussin* (1789–1804, marble; Paris, Musée du Louvre; see cat. no. 111) depicts a more idealized figure, sedately posed but nude beneath his toga. Julien's royal commissions include the *Young Woman with a Goat*, or *Amalthea* (1787, marble; Château de Rambouillet; see cat. no. 82), which highlights his masterful lapidary technique. Julien's achievements were not honored until his career was on the wane, and he was made a member of the Legion of Honor only in the year of his death.

Mathieu KESSELS

Maastricht, 1784–Rome, 1836

After an apprenticeship to a goldsmith in Venlo, Mathieu Kessels left to study drawing at the Académie des Beaux-Arts in Paris. A brief visit to Hamburg was followed by a lengthy stay in Saint Petersburg, from 1806 to 1814. Two years later he was again in Paris, studying with the painter Girodet but soon after departed for Rome, where he became a student of Bertel Thorvaldsen. In 1819 his *Saint Sebastian* (terracotta; Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts) won a competition organized by Antonio Canova. Several classical subjects, including a series on the theme of the Discobolus (1822–23, plaster; Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts), demonstrate Kessels's absorption of contemporary influences such as Winckelmann's theories on ideal beauty and Thorvaldsen's restrained classicism. However, in later works, among them *Venus Emerging from the Bath* (about 1830, marble; Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts), Kessels softened his style, adopting a more Canovian subtlety. A final stylistic transition, marked by a theatrical Romanticism, is especially evident in his religious subjects and in *The Flood* (about 1833; terracotta models and finished plaster; Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts) with its stark depiction of a storm-ravaged family. The contents of Kessels's Roman studio, including his terracotta models, were purchased by the Belgian government at his death and are now in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels.

Mikhail Ivanovich KOZLOVSKY

Saint Petersburg, 1753–Saint Petersburg, 1802

Mikhail Kozlovsky trained at the Academy of Arts in Saint Petersburg under the French sculptor Nicolas-François Gillet. In 1774, two years after receiving an award for his relief *Warriors Recognize Izyaslav Mstislavovich on the Battlefield* (plaster; Saint Petersburg, State Russian Museum), he left for Rome to study on a scholarship. By 1778 he was in France, where he was *agrégé* by the Académie Royale and continued to make reliefs, such as *Orpheus Taming the Animals* (1783–84, plaster; Saint Petersburg, Pushkin Concert Hall). He returned to Russia in 1786, remaining there except for a visit to France in 1788–90.

Kozlovsky completed large-scale commissions such as the *Catherine the Great as Themis* (1796, marble; Saint Petersburg, State Russian Museum) and a monument to General Alexander Suvorov (1800, bronze; Saint Petersburg, Suvorov Square), but he was at his best working in terracotta on a small scale. His eloquent little creations, often with Greek subjects, are marked by a sense of restrained passion. Late works include the fountain ornament *Samson and the Lion* (1801, bronze; Peterhof Palace) and the tomb of Baroness Stroganov (1802; Saint Petersburg, Lazarevskaya Church). An accomplished draftsman, Kozlovsky was a professor at the Academy of Arts in Saint Petersburg and later its director.

Félix LECOMTE

Paris, 1737–Paris, 1817

Félix Lecomte was a student of both Étienne-Maurice Falconet and Louis-Claude Vassé before winning the Prix de Rome in 1758. A period of training at the École des Élèves Protégés preceded his studies at the Académie de France in Rome, where he remained from 1761 to 1768. Upon his return to France he was accepted into the Académie in 1771 with his *Oedipus and Phorbas* (marble; Paris, Musée du Louvre).

Lecomte excelled in portraiture and in relief sculpture, bringing to the latter a linear zest derived from the school of Fontainebleau. The royal mistress, Mme Du Barry, engaged him to design decorative reliefs for Louveciennes and for her stables at Versailles. The artist's commemorative statuary includes marbles of Louis II de Bourbon (the Grand Condé) for the École Militaire (1773; lost), Fénelon (1777), Rollin (completed by 1789), and d'Alembert (1808), all in the Salle des Séances of the Institut. His religious works—the *Virgin and Child* and the relief *Lamentation with the Three Marys*, both in Rouen cathedral (1777, marble)—are suffused with an elegant sobriety. The funerary monument to Abbé Joseph-Marie Terray (1780; Nogent-sur-Seine, Château de la Motte-Tilly) exudes pathos, with a grieving Themis reclining in mourning over the tomb. In 1792 Lecomte became a professor at the Académie and in 1810 a member of the Institut.

Joseph-Charles MARIN

Paris, 1759–Paris, 1834

In 1778 Joseph-Charles Marin was enrolled in the Académie Royale in Paris as a protégé of Augustin Pajou. Despite several attempts to win the Prix de Rome, he did not succeed until 1801, with his relief *Caius Gracchus* (plaster; Paris, École des Beaux-Arts). One year later he left for Rome, where he remained until about 1810. While in Italy he received a commis-

sion from Chateaubriand for the tomb of Pauline de Montmorin, comtesse de Beaumont (1803, marble; Rome, San Luigi dei Francesi), and in 1805 at the urging of Antonio Canova became a professor at the French Academy in Rome. Marin made several works for the exiled Lucian Bonaparte, including six busts of his family, but his best-known marble is a work from his Roman years, *The Bather* in the Louvre (1808).

Returning to France in 1814, Marin worked most frequently in clay, modeling several portrait busts but specializing in mildly erotic bacchantes and Vestals in the manner of Clodion. He spent the years 1814–17 replacing the late Joseph Chinard as professor of sculpture at the École Royale de Dessin in Lyon. Marin showed extensively at the Salon of 1819, but commissions soon became scarce, *Tourville*, completed in 1827, being an exception (marble; Tourville-sur-Seine; see cat. no. 114). He died in abject poverty.

Ivan Petrovich MARTOS

Ichnya, 1754–Saint Petersburg, 1835

As a student at the Imperial Academy of Arts in Saint Petersburg from 1764 to 1773, Ivan Martos was schooled in the French Neoclassical style by Nicolas-François Gillet and Louis Rolland. He then went on a fellowship to Rome, where he remained for six years under the tutelage of Thorvaldsen and Anton Raphael Mengs. When he returned to Russia, he established his reputation with funerary monuments that were characterized by strong horizontal and vertical axes as well as scrupulous description of detail. The tomb of Marfa Petrovna Sobakina (1782, marble; Moscow, Donskoi Monastery) was one of Martos's first important commissions. His crowning achievement was the memorial to Kuz'ma Minin and Dmitri Pozharsky (1804–18, bronze; Moscow, Red Square). In his later works he adopted a more rigid style, as in the commemorative monument to the duc de Richelieu (1823–28, bronze; Odessa, Primorsky Boulevard). He rose in the ranks of the Saint Petersburg academy, becoming rector in 1814.

Jean-Guillaume MOITTE

Paris, 1746–Paris, 1810

The son of the engraver Pierre-Étienne Moitte, the young Moitte began his training with Jean-Baptiste Pigalle before joining the studio of Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne. Study at the École des Élèves Protégés followed, as did the Prix de Rome (1768) and a stay at the French Academy in Rome (1771–73). Back in Paris, Moitte was accepted into the Académie Royale in 1783. His first important commission was for statues and reliefs at the Hôtel de Salm (1784; see cat. no. 62). His statue of the astronomer Jean-Dominique Cassini (1789, posthumous marble; Paris Observatory) was intended for the Great Men of France series. Moitte redesigned the tympanum of the Panthéon in severe Directoire style (1792–93), but his work was later demolished and replaced by a relief by David d'Angers. In 1795 his introspective terracotta sketch won the competition for a memorial to Jean-Jacques Rousseau (not executed; see cat. no. 113), and he became a member of the Institut in the same year and later of the Legion of Honor. His definitive Neoclassical masterpiece is the tomb of General Desaix (1805, marble; Hospice du Grand-Saint-Bernard). Moitte was a coolly precise draftsman and produced several designs for the silversmith Robert-Joseph Auguste. Under Napoleon he also modeled

bands of relief for the later destroyed Colonne de la Grande Armée at Boulogne-sur-Mer and carved the statue of General Custine, exhibited posthumously at the Salon of 1810 (marble; Versailles, Château).

Johann August NAHL

Berlin, 1710–Kassel, 1781

First trained by his father, Johann Samuel Nahl, court sculptor to Frederick I in Berlin, Nahl settled in Strasbourg and became the pupil of Robert Le Lorrain in 1728. He studied ornament from 1731 to 1733 in Paris before spending a year in Rome. Upon his return to Strasbourg in 1735, he executed decorations for the episcopal palace, now the Palais Rohan. Nahl's career was launched in 1741, when Frederick II called him to Berlin to work on Schloss Charlottenburg. Appointed director of ornament, he designed a decorative program for the concert hall at Schloss Sanssouci (1746), which was carried out by Johann Michael Hoppenhaupt II. In 1746 he moved to Bern and from 1749 to 1752 developed various designs for the house of Albert Friedrich von Erlach. Commissioned in 1755 by Landgrave William VII to work at Schloss Wilhelmstal in Kassel, Nahl moved to the city permanently.

Nahl's sculptures after 1750 include the celebrated tomb of Maria Magdalena Langhans (1751, sandstone; see cat. no. 123) and the tomb of Hieronymus von Erlach (1750–51), both in the parish church at Hildesheim, Switzerland. In 1777 he was appointed director of the Kassel Academy. His large statue of Landgrave Frederick II for the Friedrichsplatz in Kassel was completed by his son Samuel and erected in 1783.

Joseph NOLLEKENS

London, 1737–London, 1823

Son of the painter Joseph Francis Nollekens, the young Nollekens was apprenticed to Peter Scheemakers in 1750. After winning several prizes through the Society of the Arts, he went to Rome in 1762 and supported himself by restoring and copying ancient marbles and terracottas. In 1770 he returned to London, where he established his studio and two years later became a member of the Royal Academy. His commissions for mythological statuettes include several depictions of Venus (for example, 1773, marble; Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum), inspired by the serpentine figures of Giambologna. Nollekens's commemorative monuments were more traditionally Neoclassical, including the funerary monument to Sir Thomas and Lady Salisbury (1777, marble; Hertfordshire, Great Offley Church). His most monumental undertaking in this vein was the *Three Captains' Monument* (1784, marble; London, Westminster Abbey) in honor of commanders recently fallen in battle.

Nollekens's reputation was primarily founded on portrait busts, which he began executing as early as his Roman years. Among the finest of these are *David Garrick* (1764, marble; Northamptonshire, Althorp House) and *Samuel Johnson* (1777, plaster; Lichfield, Samuel Johnson Museum). The size and activity of the artist's studio are indicated by the great number of surviving examples of his most copied bust, *William Pitt the Younger*, which was modeled posthumously (for instance, 1807, marble; Windsor Castle). An indifferent draftsman, Nollekens was a relatively lively modeler, and many of his terracottas survive, especially in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Camillo PACETTI

Rome, 1758–Milan, 1826

Camillo Pacetti, like his older brother Vincenzo, began his career as a sculptor and restorer in Rome. Through his restoration work on antique sculptures in the Musei Vaticani, he became a close friend of Antonio Canova, who helped him to obtain the chair in sculpture at Milan's Accademia di Brera in 1805. In Milan, Pacetti received commissions for two monumental projects: figures for the façade of the Milan cathedral, including *Moses* and *Saint John the Evangelist* (1802–12; see cat. no. 140), as well as reliefs, including *Mars and Minerva*, for the Arco Sempione (1812). These works were fundamental in spreading the message of Canova's coolly calculated Neoclassicism throughout Lombardy. The kneeling *Santa Marcellina* (1812, marble; Milan, San Ambrogio), with its smoothly flowing drapery, is one of Pacetti's best-loved works, and the bust of Giuseppe Bossi (1817, marble; Milan, Brera) evinces the artist's talent for portraiture.

Pacetti's artistic activity came to a halt in 1822, when he was struck with paralysis. A large selection of his terracotta models, passed down through his descendants, are today in Milan's Galleria d'Arte Moderna.

Augustin PAJOU

Paris, 1730–Paris, 1809

Born into a family of wood-carvers, Pajou entered the workshop of Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne before winning the Prix de Rome in 1748. Two years in the École des Élèves Protégés prepared him for study in Rome, where he remained until 1756. Three years after his return to Paris, *Pluto Keeping Cerberus in Chains* (1760, marble; Paris, Musée du Louvre) proved his mastery in anatomy and in carving marble and won his acceptance into the Académie Royale. Numerous architectural decorations followed, including *Prudence* and *Liberality* (1764–73), limestone pediments for the Palais-Royal; Paris, and stucco and gilt wood reliefs (1768–70) for the Royal Opera at Versailles.

Pajou's commanding role as portraitist that began with a bust of Lemoyne (1759, terracotta; Nantes, Musée des Beaux-Arts) gained ground with the portrait of Mme Du Barry (1773, marble; Paris, Musée du Louvre). One of the best draftsmen among the sculptors of his day, he succeeded Vassé as draftsman to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (1772). The colossal statue of the philosopher-scientist Buffon (1776, marble; Paris, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle) was ordered by Louis XV in 1773 for the Cabinet d'Histoire Naturelle. The reflective statue of Blaise Pascal (1785, marble; Paris, Musée du Louvre) was one of four sculptures commissioned from him for the Louvre Great Men of France series.

His most debated work, *Psyche Abandoned* (1790, marble; Paris, Musée du Louvre), was both admired for its pathos and criticized for its nudity. Working in almost every genre, Pajou modeled for the porcelain manufactory in Sèvres and for the founders of elaborate bronze clock cases, as well as drawing landscapes and grand themes from ancient history. In Montpellier from 1793 to 1795, he returned to Paris brought low by illness and the death of his wife. In old age he sculpted very little, and the bust of Julius Caesar (1800–1801, marble; Paris, Luxembourg Palace) is one of his few late works.

Jean-Baptiste PIGALLE

Paris, 1714–Paris, 1785

Jean-Baptiste Pigalle, who came from a family of woodworkers, trained with Robert Le Lorrain before entering the studio of Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne in 1735. The next year he went to Rome to study at his own expense at the Accademia di San Luca and then stayed briefly in Lyon. Upon his return to Paris in 1741 he was admitted as a junior member to the Académie Royale with his *morceau de réception*, *Mercury Attaching His Winged Sandals* (1744, marble; Paris, Musée du Louvre). This along with his *Venus* (1748, marble; Berlin, Nationalgalerie) is rooted in classical antiquity but also displays Rococo flourishes. By 1751 Pigalle was working for the royal mistress, Madame de Pompadour, whom he portrayed in a portrait bust (1751, marble; New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art) as well as in allegorical compositions.

With his grandest monument, the *Maréchal de Saxe* (1753–76, marble and bronze; Strasbourg, Church of Saint-Thomas), Pigalle created a theatrical memorial rich in symbolism. Its success led to a commission for a bronze monument to Louis XV (1755–65; Reims, place Royale, partially destroyed), depicting the king surrounded by massive allegorical figures (see cat. no. 52). Pigalle's flair for drama and pathos is outstandingly evident in the tomb of Claude-Henry, comte d'Harcourt (1771–76, marble; Paris, Notre-Dame Cathedral).

Several of Pigalle's portraits are marked by an analytical realism that spurred debate. His bronze bust of Diderot (1777; Paris, Musée du Louvre) is tangibly marked by the signs of old age. His most controversial work, commissioned by a group of writers and paid for by public subscription, is the nude of a gaunt Voltaire finished in 1776 (cat. no. 109). His graceful standing *Madonna* was installed in Saint-Sulpice the same year.

Pigalle received the order of Saint-Michel in 1769, being thus ennobled, and had risen in the ranks of the Académie to become chancellor the year before his death.

Bartolomeo PINELLI

Rome, 1781–Rome, 1835

The son of Giambattista di Antonio Pinelli, a modest sculptor of religious figures, Bartolomeo was born in Trastevere, Rome. By 1798 he was a student at the academy of Bologna; he later studied at the Accademia di San Luca in Rome, where he came under the sway of painters such as Felice Giani and Vincenzo Camuccini. In 1807 his anatomical study of a male nude was awarded first prize at the Accademia del Nudo. Despite his traditional training, Pinelli completed few public commissions, focusing instead on genre subjects in drawings for the tourist market and devoting much time to engraving.

Pinelli's love for Rome and intense identification with its citizenry inspired many of his works, including the engravings collected in *La raccolta di cinquanta costumi pittoreschi* (Rome, 1809), a vivid account of contemporary dress. A collaboration with the Swiss painter Franz Kaisermann resulted in the topographical views published as *I sette colli di Roma e vedute di Roma* (Rome, 1827). Although Pinelli's genre scenes are often infused with Romantic sentiment, several of his literary illustrations, including those for the *Divine Comedy*

(1825–26) and *Orlando Furioso* (1828), are more rigorously Neoclassical in their reductive linearity.

Influenced by his father's traditional crèche figures, Pinelli also worked on rustic genre groups in terracotta, the earliest of which may be a Madonna-like contadina with her baby, dated 1812 (New York, private collection). These figures must have found eager buyers judging by the number that survive. Several, now in the Museo di Roma, were the basis for etchings in the *Gruppi pittoreschi modellati in terracotta da Bartolomeo Pinelli*.

Philippe-Laurent ROLAND

Pont-à-Marc, 1746–Paris, 1816

In 1764 Roland joined the Parisian workshop of Augustin Pajou, who influenced the younger man's style throughout his career. Alongside his master Roland worked on the decoration of the Palais-Royal (1767–69) and the opera house at Versailles (1768–70). Between 1771 and 1776 he was in Rome, living off his savings and working independently rather than at the academy. Upon his return to Paris his first important commission was the decoration of the château de Bagatelle (1776–77). A few years later Roland completed limestone reliefs for the tympanum of the Hôtel de Salm-Kybourg, Paris (1783; see cat. no. 62). That he also became an accomplished portraitist is evident from his marble *Self-portrait* (about 1785; New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art) and from the portrait of his daughter, *Lise Roland* (1805–6, marble; Paris, Musée du Louvre). The energetic marble *Grand Condé* for the Great Men of France series, exhibited at the Salon of 1787, is today at Versailles.

During the 1790s Roland adjusted to economic necessities and produced small-scale works, especially terracottas, as well as large sculptures. His colossal statue *Law* and his relief *Legislation* for the peristyle of the Panthéon (1792–93) were destroyed. Later statues of Napoleon (1810, marble; commissioned by the Institut de France) and Homer (1812, marble; Paris, Musée du Louvre) reveal a severely rigid Neoclassical style.

Roland was a member of the Institut and was awarded the Legion of Honor. His students David d'Angers and Caillouette designed his funerary monument at Père-Lachaise.

Louis-François ROUBILIAC

Lyon, about 1705–London, 1762

Born in Lyon, Louis-François Roubiliac may have studied in Dresden with Balthasar Permoser before entering the Académie Royale, Paris, in the 1720s. His association with the Huguenots may have played a role in his relocation to England in 1730. Aside from a brief trip to Rome in 1752, he remained in London, where his reputation was founded on portrait busts and funerary monuments.

The widely acclaimed marble statue of George Frideric Handel, commissioned by Jonathan Tyers for his Vauxhall Gardens (1738; London, Victoria and Albert Museum), presented the composer with a relaxed naturalism. Several other portraits followed, including a bust of Roubiliac's friend the painter William Hogarth (about 1741, terracotta; London, National Portrait Gallery) and a statue of Shakespeare commissioned by the actor David Garrick (see cat. nos. 1, 2).

With the *Tomb of Bishop John Hough* (1744–47, marble; Worcester Cathedral), Roubiliac became sought-after as a sculptor of large-scale works; he beat out

Rysbrack, for example, in obtaining the commission for the Argyll Monument in Westminster Abbey (1745–49, marble). That his late works grew in drama and complexity is evident from the *Tomb of Mary, Duchess of Montagu* (1752–54, marble; Warkton, Northamptonshire, Saint Edmund's Church). In the *Monument to Joseph and Elizabeth Nightingale* (1758–61, marble; Westminster Abbey), the female figure, physically and spiritually overcome by death, is reminiscent of Bernini and the Baroque, but the solidity of the forms and the intellectual penetration mark Roubiliac as an important herald of Neoclassicism. His models and collections were auctioned over four days after his death and are widely dispersed.

Johann Gottfried SCHADOW

Berlin, 1764–Berlin, 1850

Johann Gottfried Schadow first studied with Jean-Pierre-Antoine Tassaert at the court of Frederick II in Berlin. In 1778 he attended the Berlin Akademie der Künste to study drawing and printmaking. One of his prints satirized a government official, and to escape censure he went with his mistress, Marianne Devidels, to Rome in 1785; while there, he converted to Catholicism in order to marry her (he revoked the conversion in 1787). Although continuing his training in the Roman studio of Alexander Trippel, Schadow soon came under the influence of Canova. In 1786, with the presentation of *Perseus and Andromeda* (see cat. no. 35), he was awarded third prize by the Accademia di San Luca. Upon his return to Berlin in 1787, he was made director of sculptural works at the Ministry of Architecture. Schadow's plaster relief *Bacchus and Ariadne* (1791, Copenhagen, Kongelige Danske Kunstakademi; later marble versions, Hamburg, Kunsthalle, and Berlin, Märkisches Museum) gained him membership to the Berlin Akademie, whose president he became in 1815. His experiences as professor and sculptor led him to publish *Kunst-Werke und Kunst-Ansichten* (Berlin, 1849), a valuable sourcebook of stylistic trends in Berlin. In all, he is generally considered the father of Berlin Neoclassicism.

The extraordinarily prolific Schadow is best known for his tombs and portrait busts. His early marble commemoration of Count Alexander von der Mark (1788–90; on loan to the Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin), Frederick II's son who died prematurely, assured future commissions. Soon after, King Frederick William II requested the famous double portrait of Princesses Luise and Friederike standing with arms entwined (1796–97, marble; Berlin, Alte Nationalgalerie). Schadow's most successful tomb is perhaps that of Count Frederick William von Arnim (1801–03, marble; Berlin, Schinkel-museum). His bronze statue *Martin Luther* was unveiled in the market square of Wittenberg in 1821; the commission, which under the rule of Napoleon had been delayed since 1804, was finally completed with the help of Karl Friedrich Schinkel and Friedrich Rabe.

A master of relief, Schadow designed reliefs for the façade of his own house (1803–4) and for the Neue Wache in Berlin (1817) that are remarkable for the cadenced harmony of their groupings. His last marble, a statue of a reclining nude female (Berlin, Alte Nationalgalerie), dates to 1826. When his workshop came to an end in that year, several commissions went to his students Friedrich Tieck and Christian Daniel Rauch, but Schadow continued to draw and produce prints,

which were published in *National-Physiognomien* (Berlin, 1835).

Philipp Jakob SCHEFFAUER

Stuttgart, 1756–Stuttgart, 1808

While studying in Stuttgart with Pierre Lejeune and Nicolas Guibal, Philipp Jakob Scheffauer and his fellow pupil Dannecker began to collaborate on projects such as the tomb of the theologian Johann Bonhofer (1781, marble; Michaelskirche, Schwäbisch Hall). From 1783 to 1785 they worked in Pajou's Paris studio and then went to Rome, where they researched the antique and discovered Roman Neoclassicism, which was dominated by Canova. The two artists continued to receive commissions from Germany, including that for the reliefs depicting the Four Seasons for Schloss Hohenheim (1785, marble; now in the Residenzschloss, Stuttgart). In 1789 Scheffauer returned to Stuttgart and became a professor at the Hohe Karlsschule. Later in his career, he executed mythological reliefs for the library in Schloss Monrepos, near Ludwigsburg (1800, marble) as well as a relief, *Jacob Wrestling with the Angel* (1805, marble; Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie). From 1790 to 1795 Scheffauer modeled many works for the porcelain factory in Ludwigsburg.

Johan Tobias SERGEL

Stockholm, 1740–Stockholm, 1814

Born in Stockholm, Johan Tobias Sergel trained with both Jean Eric Rehn and Pierre-Hubert L'Archevêque before leaving for Paris in 1758 to train at the Académie Royale, where he carefully observed the work of Bouchardon. After seven months he returned to Sweden and began executing portrait medallions. In 1767 he won the French Académie's Prix de Rome and left to study at the Académie de France in Rome. During eleven extremely productive years in that city, Sergel demonstrated a great flair for mythological themes, including *Diomedes Stealing the Palladium from Troy* (1774, marble; Stockholm, Nationalmuseum) and *Cupid and Psyche* (see cat. nos. 88, 89), in which he combined his classical bent with a keen investigation of nature.

In 1778 Sergel revisited Paris and was admitted into the Académie Royale with the heroic *Othryades* (see cat. nos. 17, 18) as his reception piece. A trip to Sweden in 1779 to execute a portrait of the king also led to a monument to Descartes (painted lead; Stockholm, Adolf-Fredrik Church) and ultimately to numerous royal commissions. *Gustav III* (1792, marble; Stockholm, Nationalmuseum) is one of several busts of that monarch by Sergel. His most monumental work from this period is the statue of Gustav across from the Royal Palace (model, 1791; bronze erected in 1808), which was much influenced by the *Apollo Belvedere*. In 1780 he became professor at the Stockholm Academy of Fine Arts, and in 1810 director; he was knighted in 1808.

Most of Sergel's works—marbles as well as his wax, plaster, and terracotta models—are in Stockholm's Nationalmuseum. He was also an eccentric draftsman who elegantly and wittily explored the realms of daily life, caricature, and erotica.

Clémence-Sophie DAUDIGNAC DE SERMÉZY, known as Mme de SERMÉZY

Lyon, 1767–Lyon, 1850

Little is known about Mme de Sermézy's artistic

development, and much of her early work was lost when her studio was destroyed by French soldiers in 1815. Judging by the style of her portrait busts, she all but certainly trained with Chinard, but her works differ from his in favoring realistic detail over idealized traits. Typical examples include the bust of her mother, *Mme Daudignac* (plaster, 1804), and *Mme Récamier* (1805, plaster; both Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts). The *Figure Kneeling on a Tomb* (1810, plaster; Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts), a project for a monument clearly influenced by Canova, embodies the artist's grief at the loss of her daughter. From at least 1820, Mme de Sermézy began to explore scenes of daily life in poetic terracotta groups.

Johann Valentin SONNENSCHNEIN

Stuttgart, 1749–Bern, 1828

A mentor of Dannecker, Johann Valentin Sonnenschein was an important forerunner of German Neoclassicism. In 1761 he began training in his native city as a stuccoist under Luigi Bossi. He next entered the Carlsschule and studied sculpture with Friedrich Wilhelm Bayer. Under the patronage of Karl Eugen, duke of Württemberg, he decorated Schloss Solitude near Stuttgart (1769); he became a member of the Ludwigsburg Kunstakademie in 1772. After moving to Switzerland, Sonnenschein made large-scale busts, such as that of Johann Konrad Heidegger, the mayor of Zurich (1778, bronze; Zurich, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum), as well as small-scale portraits in terracotta, including *Susanna Rosina Kupfer* (1798; Zurich, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum). He is best known for his small terracotta genre scenes. Having served as a modeler for the Ludwigsburg Porcelain Factory earlier in his career, the artist later worked in the same capacity for the Zurich Faience and Porcelain Factory in Kilchberg-Schooren. He taught at the newly founded Kunstschule in Bern from 1779 to 1815.

Innocenzo SPINAZZI

Rome, 1726–Florence, 1798

After studying silversmithing with his father, Innocenzo Spinazzi trained with the sculptor Giovanni Battista Maini in Rome. The *Saint Joseph Calasanctius* (1755) in Saint Peter's Basilica typifies his work before a move to Florence in 1769. Appointed court sculptor in 1770, Spinazzi was first commissioned to restore antique works such as the *Niobides* (Uffizi), then entrusted with original compositions such as the *Grand Duke Leopold* (1771–74; Florence, Palazzo Pitti).

A solid modeler and splendidly gifted lapidary, Spinazzi made three marble monuments in Santa Croce celebrating illustrious Florentines: the statue of Giovanni Lami (1772–75), the medallion with the effigy of Angelo Tavanti (1783), and the tomb of Niccolò Machiavelli, crowned by a splendid figure of Politics (1787). His best-known statues are probably the *Faith* (see cat. no. 21) and *Penitence* in Santa Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi, Florence (1781, marble). A professor at the Accademia di Belle Arti in Florence from 1784 to 1798, Spinazzi was instrumental in the early establishment of Neoclassicism in Tuscany.

Jean-Baptiste STOUF

Paris, 1752–Charenton-le-Pont, 1826

Jean-Baptiste Stouf studied in Paris with Guillaume Coustou. After winning second prize in the 1769 Prix

de Rome competition, he went to Rome to study at the Académie de France, returning seven years later to Paris. In 1785 he was received into the Académie Royale with his *Dying Abel* (marble; Paris, Musée du Louvre). The zenith of Stouf's career was reached with *Saint-Vincent de Paul*, commissioned to complete the Great Men series in the Louvre but not carved until 1798 (marble; Paris, Hôpital Saint-Vincent de Paul). Works under the Consulate and Empire include a bust of Lavoisier for the Galerie des Consuls in the Tuileries (exhibited at the Salon of 1801, marble; Versailles, Château), *General Joubert* (1804, marble; Versailles), and reliefs for the Colonne de la Grande Armée in the place Vendôme, Paris. Among his later marble statues are those of the composer André Grétry, commissioned for the theater of the Opéra-Comique, Paris (1809; New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art) and of Abbé Suger (exhibited in the Salon of 1817; now Saint-Omer, Abbey of Saint-Bertin). Stouf was a professor at the Écoles Centrales from 1810 and entered the Institut in 1817. The terracottas he regularly submitted to the Salons from 1785 to 1819 were modeled with considerable verve.

Bertel THORVALDSEN

Copenhagen, 1768 or 1770–Copenhagen, 1844

Early training in the Copenhagen Academy of Fine Arts with the sculptor Johannes Wiedewelt (who had been a close friend of Winckelmann's) and the painter Nicolai Abraham Abildgaard enabled Bertel Thorvaldsen to obtain a scholarship and leave for Rome in 1796. There, amid examples of antique works and in proximity to Canova (who would become his only serious rival), he began to develop an idealizing Neoclassical style that combined lucid linearity and solid plasticity. In 1808 he was admitted to the Accademia di San Luca. His *Jason with the Golden Fleece* (1803–28, marble; Copenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum), a significant commission for the banker Thomas Hope, reflected a style more severe and robust than Canova's and won him patrons as far afield as Russia and Poland. His numerous mythological subjects include the well-known *Ganymede with Eagle* (1811, marble; Brescia, Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo).

Thorvaldsen was also famous for his reliefs on heroic themes, such as the stucco frieze *Alexander the Great's Entry into Babylon*, commissioned for an anticipated visit of Napoleon (1812; Rome, Palazzo del Quirinale). Other works took on a linear delicacy, such as the widely copied roundels *Day and Night* (modeled 1815; first marble versions, Brescia, Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo). The enormous *Lion of Lucerne* (modeled 1819; carved by Lucas Ahorn into a hillside at Lucerne, 1819–21) effectively conveys the dying creature's agony as it defends the French royal arms with its last breath. Thorvaldsen's works for Danish churches are powerfully emotional, as in the towering marble Christ who humbly bows his head and opens his arms to the spectator (1821, see cat. no. 138). His most ambitious project was the *Tomb of Pius VII*, a massive, multifigural composition (1824–31, marble; Vatican City, Saint Peter's Basilica).

In 1838 Thorvaldsen settled in Copenhagen and became director of the Danish Royal Academy there. Much of the artist's character is captured in the city's Thorvaldsens Museum, home to hundreds of his plaster models as well as his varied collections.

Antonio TRENTANOVE

Rimini, about 1745–Carrara, 1812

Antonio Trentanove studied in the Accademia Clementina in Bologna before becoming a successful stuccoworker. An early work is the relief the *Death of Saint Jerome* for the church of San Girolamo in Rimini. In 1787 Trentanove joined a team of artists working under the painter Felice Giani on the decoration of several palaces in Faenza. His reliefs portraying the Loves of the Gods in Palazzo Laderchi (1794; see cat. no. 66) embellish the same room as Giani's frescoes of the story of Psyche. Other collaborations include the Gallery of Achilles in the Palazzo Milzetti, Faenza (about 1802, stucco). Leaving Faenza by 1804, Trentanove settled in Massa Marittima. His son Raimondo, whom he trained, went on to work with Canova.

Alexander TRIPPEL

Schaffhausen, 1744–Rome, 1793

Born into a family of craftsmen, Alexander Trippel followed his father to London in 1754, studying there with Johann Christian Ludwig von Lücke before leaving five years later for Copenhagen. Later, at the Danish Royal Academy, he trained with Johannes Wiedewelt. Although he won a gold medal in 1768, his success was only fleeting. Of several bourgeois portraits, the best is *Tante Trippel* (1776, terracotta; Schaffhausen, Museum zu Allerheiligen). Continuously struggling to find work, Trippel moved several times, settling permanently in Rome in 1778. To this period belongs his *Vestal* (1781, marble; Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Albertinum, see cat. no. 7). In 1787, in recognition of his various designs for the Prussian court, the artist was named an honorary member of the Königl. Preussische Akademie der Künste. With the portrait bust of Goethe (1790, marble; Arolsen, Residenzschloss; also many plaster casts) and the funerary monument to Salomon Gessner (1792, marble; Zurich, Schweizerische Landesmuseum) came the long-delayed recognition of his talent.

Jacques Jean VAN DER NEER

Antwerp, 1760–Antwerp, 1838

Following study with his father, Jacques Joseph, Van der Neer enrolled in the Academy of Antwerp in 1783, winning first prize a few years later with a terracotta nude study (1788; see cat. no. 31). The remainder of his career was focused on religious subjects such as the *Crucifix* (1819, marble) and *Saint Barbara* (1826, marble), both in Notre-Dame, Antwerp, and the relief *Saint Charles Borromeo Protecting Victims of the Plague* (undated, terracotta; Brussels, Musée Royaux des Beaux-Arts). Van der Neer's only pupil was the sculptor Jean-Baptiste de Cuyper.

Peter Anton VERSCHAFFELT

Ghent, 1710–Mannheim, 1793

Peter Anton Verschaefelt first studied with his uncle Pieter de Sutter in Ghent. He then worked under Edme Bouchardon in Paris and was a pupil at the Académie Royale before leaving for Rome in 1737. Several portraits of Pope Benedict XIV include a statue for the Abbey of Monte Cassino (1742, terracotta model; Rome, Sant' Alessio). The towering bronze *Archangel Michael* (cast by Francesco Giardini, 1752) which surmounts Castel Sant'Angelo in Rome established the artist's reputation. In 1777 Verschaefelt settled in Mannheim as court sculptor to Elector Karl Theodor von der Pfalz. He made portraits of the elector and his wife (see cat. no. 53) and decorated the Jesuit church with sculptures that include *Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier* (1754–60, marble). Several architectural commissions were among late works, and from 1782 to 1788 he oversaw the construction of the Bretzenheim Palace, Mannheim. Verschaefelt was responsible for the foundation of the Mannheim Zeichnungsakademie and its Antikensaal, a collection of plaster casts after the antique (dispersed after 1803).

Richard WESTMACOTT

London, 1775–London, 1856

Sir Richard Westmacott no doubt trained with his father, the sculptor Richard Westmacott the Elder, before his departure for Rome in 1792. His studies at the Accademia di San Luca led to a first prize in 1795 for the terracotta relief *Jacob Confiding Benjamin to Judah* (cat. no. 38). Few works are known from the Italian period, and it was in England, to which he returned in 1796, that he built his career, which was based firmly on tomb sculpture.

The *Monument to Lieutenant General Sir Ralph Abercromby* (1803–9, marble; London, Saint Paul's) was one of eight commissions Westmacott received from the Committee of Taste to honor heroes of the Napoleonic wars. Its dynamic, somewhat Baroque composition differs from the sculptor's otherwise Neoclassical style, influenced in its simplicity of form by the antique and by Flaxman. The apex of Westmacott's increasingly rigid style was the pediment relief *Progress of Civilization* for the façade of the British Museum (marble, installed in 1851). His skill in bronze casting is evident in the equestrian statue of George III (1818–22; Liverpool, Monument Place), inspired by the ancient *Marcus Aurelius Achilles* (1814–22; London, Hyde Park), a colossal bronze nude raised by public subscription to honor the duke of Wellington, borrows freely from the *Dioscuri* of the Quirinal. Several of Westmacott's mythological subjects are indebted to Canova, among them the *Cupid* (1823, marble; Bedfordshire, Woburn Abbey) purchased by the duke of Bedford. His best-known work is the pathos-filled *Houseless Traveler*, a monument to the philanthropist Elizabeth Southwell Warren (1822–24, marble; London, Westminster Abbey).

Upon Flaxman's death in 1827, Westmacott was named professor of sculpture at the Royal Academy, a position he retained until his own death. He was knighted by Queen Victoria in 1837.

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